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REMAKERS OF MANKIND

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REMAKERS OF MANKIND

REMAKERS  
OF  
MANKIND

BY  
✓  
CARLETON WASHBURN

*co-author of*

NEW SCHOOLS IN THE OLD WORLD

BETTER SCHOOLS

*etc.*

THE JOHN DAY COMPANY

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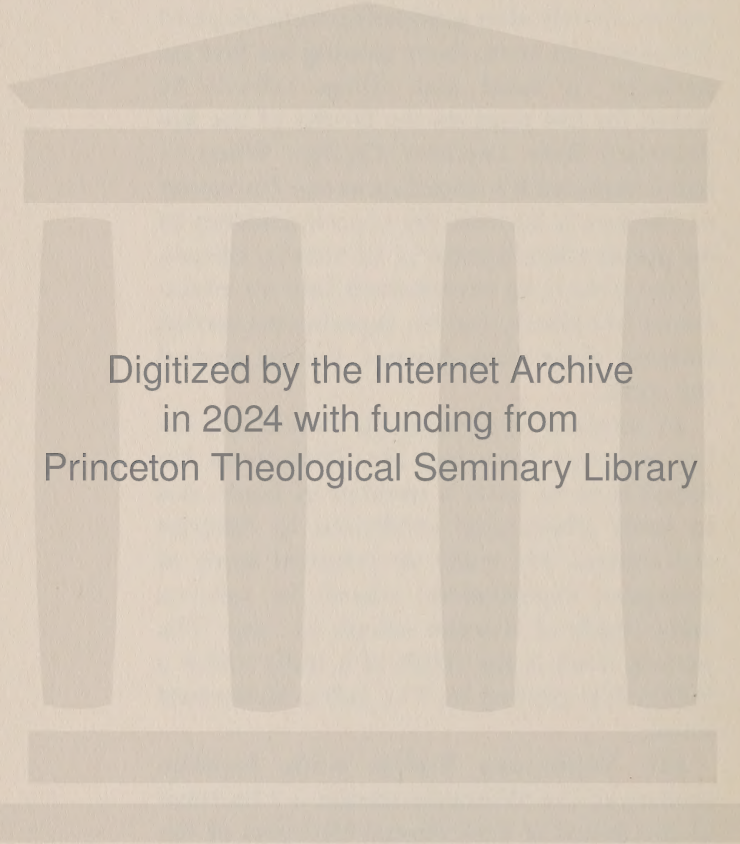
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## *ABOUT THE AUTHOR*

CARLETON WASHBURNE became a teacher shortly after graduating from Stanford University in 1912. After gaining his first experience in rural and village schools he served for five years on the faculty of the San Francisco State Teachers' College. When he had completed his doctorate at the University of California he took the superintendency of the public school system in Winnetka, Illinois. These schools he transformed into an educational laboratory, and his experiments carried forward there have become known around the world.

In addition to running his schools and doing extensive lecturing, Mr. Washburne has found time to write a number of books and to study educational conditions in America and abroad. He made an informal study of European experimental schools in 1922-23, and a study of Russian schools in 1927. The present book is the result of a study under a Fellowship granted by The Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Mr. Washburne besides being Superintendent of the Winnetka schools is Chairman of the Board of Educational Directors of the recently organized Graduate Teachers College of Winnetka, Illinois.



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REMAKERS OF MANKIND





## CHAPTER ONE

### THE QUEST

**M**ANKIND to-day is beginning to awaken to the possibility of shaping its own destiny. Startled and sobered by its sudden access of power through control of the forces of nature, it begins to realize the danger that this power may lead to its own destruction. And it begins to seek in education a means for developing character commensurate with its power and for determining the general direction of human evolution.

Mankind is not yet well coördinated in its thinking and strivings. Although close-knit economically it is disparate politically and educationally. Instead of acting as a whole, various parts act independently and often in ignorance of the action of others. Yet if mankind is to control its own destiny, the efforts of its various parts must be coördinated. To this end each part must know the aims toward which the others are striving.

The purblind gropings of the multitude find sight through the eyes of occasional far-seeing individuals who by focusing the efforts of the many toward a clearer visioned goal, become leaders of thought and action. Some of these leaders see only into the near future, others see far ahead. None are all-seeing.

The coördination of human effort must come about, in

part at least, through the coördination of the activities and thought of these leaders. Since to-day education for the first time in the history of mankind gives promise of becoming universal, and since it has the potentialities of reshaping human destiny, the leaders of educational thought in different countries are among those whose efforts, if well co-ordinated, may do much toward helping mankind to use its power for its own growth and development rather than for its destruction.

Are the leaders of educational thinking in different parts of the world conscious of their own goals? What are their goals? Are those of different leaders and different countries antagonistic, complementary and harmonious, or identical?

In an attempt to get at least partial answers to these and kindred questions, I secured a leave of absence from my own schools in Winnetka, Illinois, and a fellowship from the Julius Rosenwald Fund and set out in December, 1930, on a world journey with my family and Florence Brett, principal of one of my schools. We went first to Japan (by way of Hawaii) and there amid picturesque surroundings and Oriental thinking, surprisingly little touched by contact with the Occident, we interviewed statesmen, professors, teachers, heads of normal schools, writers, and even admirals—these last because there had been an attempt to incorporate some Winnetka educational ideas in the naval training school at Etajima.

From Japan we went through Korea, stopping a day at Keijo and sleeping a night on the heated floors of a Korean hotel. Thence we journeyed northward over the South Manchurian railway, where a few months later the hos-



tilities between Japan and China started. We interviewed the Northern War Lord, Chang Hsueh-liang, whom Japan later ousted. We talked with educational leaders—university presidents, commissioners of education, vice-ministers, chancellors, normal school heads, and others—first in Mukden, then in Peiping, Tientsin, Nanking, and Shanghai. Perhaps the most stimulating interview was with Hu Shih, the famous Chinese philosopher.

Sailing from Shanghai we touched Hongkong and the Malay States, and resumed our study in India. For five weeks we journeyed through that seething country, from the southernmost tip to the Vale of Kashmir in the Himalayas, and from Calcutta on the east to Bombay and Karachi on the west. We lived part of the time with Indians, eating their food, learning to know their ways of thinking. We talked, of course, with Christian missionaries, both English and American, and with British officials. But most of our time was spent with the Indians themselves—the poet, Tagore; the philosopher, Radhakrishnan; the theosophist, Bhagavan Das; the president of the great Hindu university, Pandit Malaviya; the great feminist leader, Sarojini Naidu; the young communistically inclined Nationalist, Jawaharlal Nehru; and with Mahatma Gandhi himself.

Then we went up the Persian Gulf to the Shat-el-Arab, a great placid river formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates. We visited a tribe of marsh Arabs there and talked with the head of the schools of Basra, then took the train past Ur of the Chaldees, past the ruins of Babylon, to the fascinating city of Baghdad. We spent over two weeks among the Arabs; had tea with King Faisal, a feast

with an Arab chieftain out in the desert, and interviews with all those most likely to influence Iraqi education.

A somewhat hazardous automobile trip across the Arabian desert was interrupted by our cars being stuck in the mud—there had been heavy rains—until we were reduced to a diet of orange peels, chicken bones, and malted milk tablets. We finally dug our way out, and by scattering ourselves over the desert we gathered enough stones and pebbles to build a short road out of the mud hole. Finally we reached Damascus where we talked with the Minister of Education and with Nationalist leaders, and then drove to Palestine.

Unfortunately the delay in the desert prevented our taking time in Palestine for a study of that interesting country where three civilizations struggle for supremacy, and where there are three official languages, almost wholly unrelated to each other.

In Egypt there were again Nationalist leaders as well as educators, and there was a fiery Syrian exile who finished our picture of the Syrian Nationalist views.

We left Egypt too soon, paused to do obeisance to the Parthenon, and then plunged into Turkey, an amazing example of the westernization of an Oriental country.

A Russian boat took us through the Black Sea to Odessa. Some of the deckhands were trousered girls, two of these being students from the Marine School in Odessa, preparing to be captains! We certainly knew by the atmosphere on this boat that we were approaching the land of the proletariat. There was none of the semi-military regimentation and hierarchy among the crew, so characteristic of most ocean vessels. Deckhands and officers played games in

a common amusement hall, sang and danced on the deck with one another and the passengers. The service, too, was proletarian—no frills, no deference, but the service of an equal by an equal.

In Odessa, the Crimea, and the Ukraine, we traveled without regular guides or interpreters, using the services of chance fellow passengers, or such temporary guides as we could lay our hands on or as were loaned to us by the board of education or the Society for Cultural Relations. Part of the time we simply got along with sign language. By the time we reached Moscow we were glad to get an official guide from Intourist, who could interpret for us and take us to the places we wanted to see. Most of our Russian interviews were in Moscow.

Then came Poland, surprisingly beautiful, unfailingly courteous; then Austria, most charming and friendly of countries; and finally Germany, France, and England.

In each country we sought out those men and women whose thought was most likely to influence the direction and aim of educational thinking in their respective countries during the next two or three decades. The International Institute of Teachers College had given us some suggestions, the New Education Fellowship had given us others, our own friends in the different countries gave us many more, and the persons whom we interviewed checked our lists and added suggestions of their own. Having thus located our quarry we shot questions at it, using more or less standardized ammunition in the form of an interview outline.

The interview outline was often sent ahead and sometimes translated into the language of the person to be inter-



viewed. It was expanded considerably during the course of each discussion and modified somewhat as a succession of interviews showed certain parts to be barren and other parts fruitful. The order of the questions sometimes varied.

One question had to do with the degree to which education should be used in shaping society. As expanded it ran as follows:

“There are at least three different attitudes in regard to the social aim of education:

“There is first the traditional and more or less unconscious aim of education in most countries. This is to fit boys and girls for participation in the already existing kind of society; to make them good citizens and able participants in the social, political, and economic order that now exists in their own country.

“Second there is the attempt, perhaps best illustrated in Russia and Italy to-day, to create a preconceived and fully planned new social order by means of education. The old order is to be uprooted and the new order implanted through the schools of the nation.

“There is, third, the point of view expressed to me several years ago by some of the leaders of the free schools of Hamburg. ‘We do not want to perpetuate existing forms of society by imposing our traditions upon the children,’ they said, ‘nor do we know what the ideal form of human society should be—we ourselves are products of a stultified traditional scheme of education and cannot be counted upon to look wisely into the future. If we develop each child’s individuality as completely as possible, providing a rich environment in which he can grow, and permitting him to select freely from that environment those elements

which he feels he needs, the individual so developed will have far more wisdom with which to remake the social order than we can possibly have.'

"Which of these three viewpoints most nearly expresses your own aims? You need not limit yourself to any one, and you may express an entirely different one. I am merely suggesting these three aims to indicate the scope of my question.

"I don't want your answer in terms of present practice or present official approval, but rather in terms of what you yourself, as an individual, would like to make the aim of education in your country. I want your personal purposes, which through your office or position of leadership you are hoping ultimately to bring about."

The second general question had to do with nationalistic and international aims. It was in several parts. The first part ran somewhat as follows:

"Do you wish so to educate the children of your country that they will put their country's demands first and those of their personal conscience second, or vice versa? In case one's government, for example, should make a definite requirement of the individual with which the individual's conscience did not agree, should the individual lend active support to the government's command or should he follow his personal conception of what is right? During the World War, you may remember, there were persons who felt that participation in that war was morally wrong and that to kill their fellow victims in a world tragedy at the command of what seemed to them a misguided government, was a great evil. Would you so educate the children of your nation that if they felt this way they would follow their convictions

and refuse to fight? Or would you rather educate them to the point of view that the state once having determined upon its course of action it is the duty of every individual within the state to put aside his personal conviction and throw himself loyally and whole-heartedly into carrying out the state's dictates?

"Would you apply the same logic to compliance with laws involving less obvious stress? You undoubtedly know of the Prohibition Law in America. You must have laws in your country which are likewise unpopular among a considerable number of people. Would you so educate your children that they would strictly obey these laws even though they regarded them as an unjust infringement upon their personal rights?"

The second part of the question had to do with the teaching of nationalistic history:

"In teaching the children about the lives of your country's great heroes and in teaching them the history of their nation, should there be an attempt to give a strictly objective and accurate point of view, or should this historical material be so presented that it will implant certain ideals and a veneration for their country and its heroes even at the expense of strict historical accuracy? In telling a child about his country's dealings with another country, for example, should one give quite objectively and impartially the viewpoint of the other country as well as the viewpoint of one's own, or should these dealings be so presented as to convince the child that his country was right and the other wrong? In telling him about his country's heroes, should they be made almost faultless or should their short-

comings and weaknesses be impartially told along with their virtues?"

The third section dealt with freedom of discussion:

"Should children be allowed in school to discuss freely current questions on which there are wide differences of opinion among adults? There are those who feel that such questions should be kept out of the classroom, that children and even high school and college students are too immature for such discussion and are liable to be led into dangerous instability and even disloyalty; that if children are to get practice in discussion, it had better be in matters which are no longer serious bones of contention among their elders. There are others who feel that unless children learn to discuss live current issues intelligently and reasonably in school there is little hope of their being able to do so, unguided, when they get out into the world. Which way do you think is better?

"If you believe in freedom of discussion of such questions, should the teacher try to influence the children's thinking? If so, should he influence it toward the official or most widely accepted point of view, or toward his own personal viewpoint?"

The final section of this question dealt with internationalism as an aim in education:

"Should it be one of the important conscious aims of education to inculcate in a child a feeling of responsibility not only for his own nation but for the world community of nations? Should he have developed in him a sense of loyalty toward this world community? If so, how would you reconcile the apparent conflict between loyalty to one's own country and this wider loyalty?"



The third general question was somewhat more technical and was asked only of those whose work was likely to have led them into direct thinking upon it. It was in two sections. The first section dealt with the problem which American curriculum makers have been debating so vociferously:

“Should education be centered primarily around the needs of growing individual children, or is there a certain body of knowledge and skill which we are reasonably sure every child will need as an adult and which should, therefore, be given to him while he has the leisure and plasticity of childhood? In making a curriculum should we plan in advance what minimum quantity of knowledge and skill every child should sooner or later possess and then strive to find the best methods and times for teaching him these things, or should we study the growing individual, work out activities from day to day and year to year to meet his growing interests and needs, and give him only such knowledge and skill as he requires for satisfying growth and full living at each stage of his development?”

The second section was hard to explain to some of those whom we interviewed. They had evidently never heard of “mental hygiene,” or “integration of personality,” and had very little idea of what we meant by “the emotional development of the child.” The question was: “Is it a direct function of public school education to try to bring about a satisfactory emotional development of the child? Should an integrated personality, a well-adjusted emotional life, be consciously striven for in school? Is this aim sufficiently important so that if necessary, some of the academic work

of the school should be sacrificed in order to provide the time and money necessary for work in mental hygiene?"

When it came to explaining these terms and expanding this question through interpreters who could not find words equivalent in their own language, the difficulties were so great that the question often had to be abandoned.

There were other questions asked of different educators and there was also much that was volunteered by them as to their purposes, quite independent of our questions. These things will be brought out as each country's aims are considered.

## CHAPTER TWO

### EDUCATION UNDER THE HEAVENLY RULER—JAPAN

THE spring before we visited Japan, Count and Countess Hayashi and their daughter had visited us in Winnetka. It had been our privilege to have many visitors from Japan at different times, but in Count Hayashi we felt that for the first time we had come in contact with a man who could speak authoritatively for his country. Genial, very courteous, thoughtful, and with a ready humor, he commanded our instant respect and liking. He was on his way back from attending the World Federation of National Education Associations, of which he is vice-president. When we reached Japan we found that he was president not only of the Japanese Education Association, but of about twenty other organizations. He is professor of education in the Imperial University of Tokio and a member of the House of Peers.

While we were in Japan we were recipients over and over again of his personal and official hospitality and kindly thoughtfulness.

Count Hayashi's home is in two sections, one European in style, the other strictly Japanese—where you take off your shoes before entering, sit on the matted floor, and slide open the walls of rooms. Both parts of the house overlook a beautiful garden with brook and lagoon, curved stone

bridges, an ancient stone lantern (man high), twisted plum trees beginning to blossom, and hot houses, one of which is devoted exclusively to every variety of orchid, gathered from all parts of the world.

Picture our interviews with Count Hayashi as beginning before the open fireplace in our own living-room in Winnetka and continuing beside the window of his home looking out on his garden.

On a certain day Count Hayashi invited to lunch with us a group of men in and about Tokio whom he considered outstanding in their educational thought. We held a joint conference with them, Count Hayashi occasionally entering into the discussion to clarify my questions or their answers and sometimes to amend the answers he had given in our previous interviews. One of these guests was R. Okada, Ex-Minister of Education and a member of the House of Peers, elderly, official, seeing things in terms of rescripts and regulations. Next to him in the bay window sat K. Yoshida and S. Haruyama, both professors of pedagogy in the Imperial University, Yoshida plump, acquiescent to Okada's opinion, but a bit more liberal and human; Haruyama usually seconding whatever Yoshida said. Near them sat S. Kobayashi, professor of pedagogy in Keijo University, younger, more liberal, free to express himself. And last there was S. Irisawa, associate professor in the Imperial University, who usually seconded Kobayashi. What this quintette had to say to our questions will appear in later pages.

There was no one in Japan whom we so much looked forward to meeting as Dr. Nitobe. I first heard of him at an evening banquet in Lexington, Kentucky. I was seated



beside Mrs. Alice Hegan Rice of "Mrs. Wiggs" fame. We fell to talking about Japan. "There is one man you must surely meet there," she said. "He is Dr. Nitobe. Let me tell you about him."

I was so absorbed in the romantic tale she unfolded that I quite forgot for the rest of the meal that I owed some conversational obligation to my host, the president of the University, who sat on the other side of me. The story, as confirmed by my subsequent visit to the Nitobes and by a letter Mrs. Nitobe wrote me after we left, is briefly as follows:

Nitobe came to the United States as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University back in the 1880's. Just after finishing his work he met a young Philadelphia Quakeress at the home of a mutual friend. He then went to Germany for further study and kept up a correspondence with the Philadelphia girl. When one reads what Nitobe writes to-day, one realizes the savor his correspondence must have had. At the end of three and a half years he came to Philadelphia for six months to give the young woman's family an opportunity to know him, for he and she had decided that they wanted to marry. But the opposition was strenuous. "Forty years ago (for my husband and I were married New Year's day eighteen hundred ninety-one)" Mrs. Nitobe writes, "Japan was a practically unknown land to the conservative community of Philadelphia and the conservative family and sect to which I belonged. Their conservatism was badly shaken, so was that of my husband's Samurai uncle by whom he had been adopted.

"But all these matters were adjusted in time—and with understanding. No one ever had more respect and affection

than has had my husband by members of my family, and the dear Samurai uncle and I were fast friends from the beginning of our acquaintance.

"It is quite true that my husband and I started our life together with very limited means, but the years were so filled with blessings that they never seemed like poverty, and prejudice I have never been made to feel in this land. When it has come from America to Japan my feeling has been one of contempt for small provincial minds.

"What the world may term romance there was and is, but there has been something so much deeper!"

Little by little Nitobe rose to a position of rank and power. He has been president of the First National College of Tokio, professor of economic and colonial history in the Imperial University, director of the section of International Bureau in the secretariat of the League of Nations, and is now a member of the House of Peers. He and his wife are universally liked and respected.

They invited us to luncheon in their home. It combines the best of the Orient and the Occident. The rooms are hung with the exquisitely simple paintings of Seiho, and overlook a charming Japanese garden. Mrs. Nitobe is now white-haired, but vigorously active. Dr. Nitobe's eyes twinkle from behind his spectacles, and his face, voice and manner are of rare charm and personality. He was one of the most charming and thoughtful of all the Japanese we met.

I must not attempt a detailed description of each of the interesting persons who gave us an insight into Japanese

educational aims. Let me merely mention two or three more whom I shall have occasion to quote.

In Tokio there was Takayama—who gathered the Tokio Teachers' Association together for us—rather young, outspoken, out of sympathy with the conservative element.

And there was Aizawa, secretary of the National Education Association, friendly, helpful, and so short that when we walked side by side amused smiles played over the faces of the passersby. He modestly avoided giving his personal reactions to my questions, but tried instead to interpret the general attitude among the more thoughtful of the rank and file of teachers.

In beautiful and peaceful Nara where deer freely roam the streets and parks and the majestic Daibutsu Buddha fills one with awed humility, there is the Higher Normal School for Women. Its president, Eyi Makiyama, is an elderly, philosophic, German-educated man who uses modern methods in his model elementary school, but whose thought is typically Japanese in its basic conservatism.

Not far from Nara is Kyoto. There Professor Konishi of the Imperial University led us through the soft rain under a large Japanese umbrella to a Temple high above a lovely valley, on the other side of which rose forested mountains. Then he took us to tea in a quaint little tea house opening on a park. But our interview with him was in the large lounge of our hotel, with the beauty of Kyoto just outside the windows.

One must have a bit of the feel of Japan and its finished beauty and a little acquaintance with a few of its people before entering into its thought.

One cannot understand Japanese educational purposes, or, indeed, any other fundamental aspect of Japanese life, without knowing something about Shinto. This was a complete surprise to us. We had thought of Shinto with its polytheism and ancestor worship as a residual religion outgrown by modern, industrial, intellectual Japan, and cherished only by the simple and superstitious peasants. In some of its forms this is doubtless true, but as the state religion, centered about the worship of the Emperor, Shinto is alive and permeates the attitudes and thought of statesmen and educational leaders as well as those of the common people.

It is purely a religion of the Japanese nation, yet it is of so inclusive a nature that Buddhists in Japan are at the same time Shintoists, and even Japanese Christians do not escape from its fundamental attitudes.

I use the word "attitudes" because Shinto is a religion of attitudes rather than one of creed and dogma. It is the attitude of reverence toward one's parents and ancestors and for the "Heavenly Ruler." The Japanese do not refer to their emperor as "Emperor," nor, officially, as "Mikado," but as "Tenno," which means "Heavenly Ruler."

When we were told in all seriousness by a highly intelligent Japanese that the Emperor is directly descended from the Sun Goddess, we were astounded. We recognized, however, that there must be some rationalization of the belief, if people of high intellectual caliber were able to hold it. We therefore sought for a scholarly Japanese authority on Shinto, and found him, through Count Hayashi, in Professor Kato of the Tokio Imperial University. From him we learned that Shinto differs radically from such religions as Christianity, Judaism, and Islam in



that it deifies man instead of considering him as created by some Supreme Being. The ancestors of the Japanese were born of the Sun Goddess, to be sure, but the Gods of the Japanese pantheon are very human. While there is occasional reference in the Japanese Mythology to the "Divine Lord of the Very Center of Heaven," who is changeless, eternal, and unmoved, he plays no active part in the religious drama of ancient Shinto, nor in the thought or life of the people of to-day.

Every person, being divine in his nature, is worthy of reverence, especially when freed from his earthly body, but the "Heavenly Ruler" above all, as the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, receives worship not only after death, but during his life. This descent from the Sun Goddess is explained by Professor Kato on the following hypothesis.

In prehistoric Japan there was a great queen, a leader of her people. She was worshiped in her lifetime and deified after her death. Gradually her "political career was inseparably connected with solar myths" and she became known as the Sun Goddess. Yet she may have been the actual ancestress of Jimmu-Tenno, the first historical emperor of Japan. From Jimmu the Japanese trace an unbroken dynasty for twenty-five hundred years down to the present Heavenly Ruler. This great antiquity and unbroken lineage of the royal house accounts for much of the awe in which it is held.

When one realizes that even in present day Japan the living Emperor is deified, the belief in the descent of the ruling family—and indeed of the entire Japanese nation—from a goddess seems less astonishing.

"It is very easy for me as a Quaker to understand the

Shinto belief of the divine in each person," said Mrs. Nitobe. "I have great respect for the religion and what it means in the lives of the people."

The influence of Shinto on such a man as Dr. Nitobe is shown in his well-known little book, *Bushido*. He says, for example:

What Buddhism failed to give, [to Japan] Shinto offered in abundance. Such loyalty to the sovereign, such reverence for ancestral memory, and such filial piety as are not taught by any other creed, were inculcated by the Shinto doctrines. . . . Shinto theology has no place for the dogma of "original sin." On the contrary, it believes in the innate goodness and God-like purity of the human soul, adoring it as the adytum from which divine oracles are proclaimed. Everybody has observed that the Shinto shrines are conspicuously devoid of objects and instruments of worship, and that a plain mirror hung in the sanctuary forms the essential part of its furnishing. The presence of this article is easy to explain: it typifies the human heart, which, when perfectly placid and clear, reflects the very image of the Deity. When you stand, therefore, in front of the shrine to worship, you see your own image reflected on its shining surface, and the act of worship is tantamount to the old Delphic injunction, "Know Thyself." The nature-worship [of Shinto] endeared the country to our inmost souls, while its ancestor-worship, tracing from lineage to lineage, made the Imperial family the fountain-head of the whole nation. To us the country is more than land and soil from which to mine gold or to reap grain—it is

the sacred abode of the gods, the spirits of our forefathers: to us the Emperor is more than the Arch Constable of a Reichsstaat, or even the patron of a culturstaat—he is the bodily representative of Heaven on earth, blending in his person its power and its mercy.

The tenets of Shintoism cover the two predominating features of the emotional life of our race—Patriotism and Loyalty.

Professor Kato summarizes present day Shinto very well as follows: "Shinto . . . has culminated in . . . worship of the Japanese Emperor as a divinity during his lifetime as well as after his death. Japanese patriotism or loyalty . . . really is not simple patriotism or mere loyalty . . . it is the lofty self-denying sentiment of the Japanese people toward their August Ruler, believed to be of something divine, rendering them capable of offering up anything and everything, all dearest to them, of their own free will; of sacrificing not only their wealth or property but their own life itself for the sake of their divinely gracious sovereign." He cites as an example the case of General and Countess Nogi, who, when their Emperor died a few years ago, committed suicide rather than outlive him.

At dinner one night in Kyoto—at Doshisha, a missionary college—we asked the Dean what her attitude was toward Shinto, she being a converted Christian. She was an able, American-educated Japanese woman and we felt that her reply was typical of the Shinto influence upon Japanese Christians: "I have great respect for it—we all have. You ask what my attitude toward the Emperor is? It is one of reverence. I do not consider him as a God, of

course—I make a clear distinction between Divinity and exalted humanity. But when the Empress visited our school a year or two ago and walked about among us and talked to us I felt—oh, it's hard to tell what I felt!—I would gladly have had her kill me, I would gladly lay down my life for her!" There was the glow of religious zeal in her eyes as she said this, and a tone of awed reverence.

It was in such a setting of religious nationalism, of worship of the Emperor as the deified head of the great Japanese family, that our questions on the purposes of education were answered.

"Japanese education is different from that of other countries. We have a different standard. We want to fit education to Japanese society," said Ex-Minister Okada, one of the group at Count Hayashi's house.

"Yes," said Professor Yoshida, "but we want to overcome certain weaknesses and make our present society better. We have an ideal for our country. We want to bring about a realization of this idealized Japan and fit our children to this better society."

"Our empire stands on the spirit of the Imperial Rescript," Ex-Minister Okada continued. "To develop the individual fully agrees with the spirit of this rescript."

Since the Imperial Rescript of 1890 is the basis of all Japanese education, let us quote it:

#### Know Ye Our Subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty



and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good, and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by third Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.

After Okada's reference to this rescript, Professor Kobayashi said, "I agree with Mr. Okada and Mr. Yoshido, but do not know what is Japan's ideal state. My ideal may differ from theirs."

Mr. Yoshido replied, "In theory the present state is the

ideal state, but not in practice. The desire of all is to put into practice our present ideals, not to change the fundamental basis on which our present civilization is built."

To this Mr. Kobayashi and the others of the group all agreed, Professor Haruyama adding, "We would fit our children to the present society. While society is always progressing, we can best prepare for a better society by adequate education for the society that now exists."

We were not unprepared for this answer. Count Hayaishi himself, when he visited us in Winnetka the previous year, had said, "Our aim in education is to make character in accordance with Japanese nationalism or imperialism. The Emperor is like the father of the family. Our people are descendants of the Imperial dynasty. Imperialism must have good subjects, so self-realization is identical with national education. Education must be both individual and social. The individual must realize the ideal of the nation. We must be loyal to the Empire without losing our individuality. The good of society consists of all coöperating together, each doing his own work and participating in the stream of culture."

These were characteristic replies to our first question as to the social aims of education. There were no cases of complete dissent from this general viewpoint that education is to fit the individual into an idealized present society. But there were some differences in emphasis.

President Makiyama, for example, while believing that children should be educated to adapt themselves to the actual society they are living in, at the same time urged the importance of carrying out "the liberal development of

individuality as far as possible, quite free from the restrictions caused by the existing society."

Aizawa, speaking not so much for himself as for what he believed to be the common point of view among educationists, said, "Our aim is now to educate children to take their part in present day Japan and we do not look too far into the future. We are not satisfied, however, with our present day society. Therefore, in education each individual must be fully developed without any predetermined social aim so that each individual so developed may work out a better solution to social problems than can the existing generation."

Gonichi Hito of the Tokio Higher Normal School disclaims any attempt "to fit the children for participation in any particular kind of existing society which cannot develop itself further." He says, "I am not attempting to bring about any particular kind of society such as has no relation to our present society. We are trying to develop each child fully into a good Japanese citizen, believing that so developed he can take an active part in our existing society and make a better contribution to the development of our country than can his progenitors."

Of course, by the phrase, "a good Japanese citizen," Hito implies much that he tries to disclaim. He, too, is really striving to educate for a somewhat idealized present condition.

The president of the New Education Association in Japan, Entaro Noguchi, likewise sets out to avow the Hamburg type of aim by saying, "I am trying to educate each individual fully without any predetermination. . . . I think it is very perilous to predetermine some kind of so-

ciety and to seek to bring it to instant realization through education. The present social construction must be gradually changed and the safest way to do this is to develop all individuals of the nation fully, letting them select what they think best."

He immediately qualifies this point of view, however, by stating that it is important to give children an unforced understanding "that the essential principles of the Japanese historical state organization are best fitted to the conditions of our country."

The teachers in the Seijo-Gakuen, Japan's most famed experimental school, formulated the aims of their school as attempting an integration of the various viewpoints which we had suggested. They said, "Each individual should be developed fully without predetermined social aim. At the same time we are trying to cultivate those national traits which are handed down to us as traditions, and are aiming to bring about a better coördinated society."

In similar vein Dr. Yoshio Noda, late president of the Osaka National College, said, "We are by no means satisfied with the present conditions of existing society, but we want reasonable amelioration and continual progress on more humanitarian principles without abrupt revolution. We want to try to develop each individual fully so that he may continue his best work for social progress."

This same liberal, reasonable attitude was taken, quite naturally, by Dr. Nitobe. He said, "We wish first to develop the innate capacity of children to be true to their own natures; second we want to help them to adapt themselves to the requirements of the existing society, and third so to train them that they will bring about a further evolu-



tion of society along reasonable and peaceful lines. The aims of that evolution may be determined by the children themselves. We cannot predict what their aims will be, but they must realize them by peacefully reasonable means, not by revolution."

There are, of course, radicals in Japan; but they are so thoroughly repressed that we were unable to find out who they were or what they were thinking. To talk with those who are the acknowledged leaders of Japanese thought at present would make one suppose that there were no real dissenters. Yet the daily newspapers spoke of student riots, and when we went to the opening of the Japanese Diet the leader of the opposition vigorously criticized the government for laxity in its handling of communistic demonstrations in schools. The acting premier assured the Parliament that stricter measures would be taken.

Our only glimpse of radicalism among educators was at a meeting of the Tokio Teachers' Association. Mr. Takayama had suggested that it would be interesting for me to get the point of view of the teachers in the field. He mimeographed a translation of my interview outline and gave copies of it to all the Tokio principals and a number of the teachers. About five hundred of them gathered together to attempt a discussion of their answers with me. I was naturally skeptical about getting any adequate replies from so large a number of persons. My skepticism was well justified, but the meeting had its high spots.

After two or three rather platitudinous and cautious replies a man in the back of the room said that of course they hoped to bring about a new kind of society through education. When I pressed him as to what kind of a society

this would be, he described, without naming it, a form of communism. I asked bluntly whether this was not communism, and he replied, "Yes, it is!" There was scattered applause, followed immediately by the rising of a teacher appropriately seated at the extreme right side of the hall.

"Dr. Washburne should understand that when we speak of communism we mean no disloyalty to the Emperor. While we wish to bring about a more perfect state, it must, of course, be within the general structure of the Empire. State socialism when thought of in Japan means socialism of a state controlled and headed by our Emperor." This statement received applause, somewhat more widespread; but I thought it was somewhat more perfunctory than that which had greeted the remarks of the communist teacher.

That teacher again rose to his feet and said things which were not interpreted to me, a vigorous dispute in Japanese taking place between him and the chairman who was acting also as interpreter for me. My attempts to get at the cause of this dispute were futile. The chairman insisted that the man's remarks were irrelevant and that he was merely arguing with him as to whether they had bearing on my question. I would have given a great deal at that moment to have had a strictly disinterested interpreter!

One strong note of skepticism was sounded by a teacher at this meeting. He said, "I don't believe education has anything to do with social progress. We may fool ourselves into thinking that we can influence human destiny, but the currents of life, and economic and social forces quite outside the educational realm determine human evolution—not the schools!"

One cannot escape the conclusion that this skeptic was

to a large degree right. But is there no hope that a new kind of education cautiously and scientifically directed toward the best development of each individual and of society, may achieve what education in the past has failed to achieve?

Let us pass on to our second question.

With the Shinto background it is inevitable that the predominant point of view in Japan should be that in emergencies the individual should sacrifice his own conscientious beliefs and follow the dictates of the state. Dr. Nitobe was, I believe, the only person with whom we talked who unequivocally felt that the conscience of the individual came first. His attitude in this regard is doubtless due to the strong Quaker influence in his life. He said, "I am one of the hated people opposed to Stephen Decatur's 'My country, right or wrong.' I am for my country always right; but when it is wrong, beat it!"

Count Hayashi at first seemed to take the same point of view. He said, "A person should refuse to follow the nation if the nation is doing wrong. Wrong is wrong." Later, however, when the group of prominent men he had invited to his home to answer our questions were discussing this problem, Count Hayashi added, "But still the individual must obey in national emergencies."

The others of the group had just expressed their agreement with Professor Okada's statement. "We don't want blind patriotism, but Japan would do no wrong. The individual should strive to make his viewpoint felt before the government has acted, but once a decision is made, he must obey."

"Yes," Professor Yoshida added, "everyone has the duty to sacrifice himself and his principles for the country even if he thinks the country is wrong."

In Nara Professor Makiyama gave a thoughtful and typically Shinto confirmation to this viewpoint. "Our right is with the country. There is no right independent of our country. We should distinguish, however, between the state as the abstract homeland and the state as the government in power. There is a great difference between the country represented by the Emperor and the government represented by statesmen. The former is our country and its traditions; but the government may be opposed and overthrown. The Emperor is the personification of Japanese tradition and history. Therefore the country as represented by him *does* nothing. In respecting the Emperor we respect the country. An imperial edict on the other hand is the responsibility of ministers. We are therefore free to criticize what the government orders. But," he added, "if the government issues an order, we must obey it, right or wrong."

Professor Konishi of the Kyoto Imperial University put the matter succinctly when he said, "One's own opinion is allowable, but the social spirit is the judge of right or wrong. So we must support the government."

Similarly Professor Matsuzuki of the Keijo Imperial University in Korea said, "Try the best you can to prevent wrong on the part of the nation; but if in spite of your efforts the nation undertakes what seems to be wrong, give yourself to your country."

It is needless to give further instances. Those who are guiding educational thought in Japan are practically unani-



mous in thinking that the individual conscience has no right to independent functioning once Japan has decided to act.

Our question went on. "May the past acts and heroes of Japan be criticized or should they be presented to children in their best light?" One can almost predict the answer but it is not quite so unequivocal as that in regard to the subordination of self to the state.

The Emperor, of course, is above criticism. To that practically everyone agreed. I am not sure whether even Dr. Nitobe would include the Emperor in his statement, "I want to see whatever is wrong called wrong. If heroes turn out on investigation to be rascals, call them rascals."

A much more typical reply was Count Hayashi's. "Children should see both sides," he said. "They should realize that even saints are often one-sided. The Emperor, however, is different—keep him holy. Do not criticize him. As to the country's acts, the question is a complicated one. It is hard for us to know what is right. Nevertheless, if there has been a wrong in the past, it should be taught as wrong—but the Imperial Household is an exception."

A different but not conflicting point of view was expressed by Dr. Makiyama. "The question must be answered in terms of the influence on the children. In some cases to teach them the bad points of heroes might have a bad influence on them. In other cases to show a hero's faults may have educational value. Our first consideration is the influence on the child rather than historical accuracy. Truth is always truth, but we must use discretion in choosing what parts will be of value to the children. To reveal the whole truth to them is unnecessary."

Aizawa, attempting to express the generally held view, makes a distinction between teaching on the elementary level and teaching in the secondary schools. "In the primary grades," he says, "Napoleon's bravery, for example, would be emphasized, but not his selfish side, while in the secondary school we should teach the children more of the truth, emphasizing the good but pointing out the wrong."

I don't think that strict objectivity in the teaching of history and biography can be expected in Japan. While philosophically Makiyama may be right in his distinction between the acts of the government and the aloofness and freedom from responsibility of the Emperor, the Emperor is constitutionally the final authority. This fact and his sacredness make it almost impossible for the Japanese people to think of their country and their Heavenly Ruler as capable of wrong.

The next section of our question dealt with the amount of freedom with which children should be allowed to discuss contemporary problems on which there were wide differences of opinion among their elders.

Some people, like Dr. Nitobe, made a distinction between the discussion of problems in the elementary grades and discussion in higher schools. Most people, however, were opposed to any discussion of contemporary problems. Even Count Hayashi said, "It is not good to *discuss* in class moot questions of the present day, but we can teach them from the standpoint of morals. It is better to leave out things which cannot be taught uniformly and to avoid all questions on which there are serious differences of opinion."

The group of men at Count Hayashi's house held this same point of view.

The educational methods in use in the Elementary School attached to the Higher Normal School in Nara are in many ways modern and free, but President Makiyama was conservative as to discussion.

"We should not allow children to discuss such things," he said, "especially if a question has been settled by the government or by law. There is, however, beginning to be a recognition of the need for political education and it may be that the high school students will be given an opportunity to discuss unsettled questions, but not those that parliament has acted upon."

"Even if there is a strong public sentiment for the repeal of a law, would you exclude the discussion of it in schools?" I asked.

"I don't think such questions should be discussed," he replied. "We have done nothing in the line of discussing current problems in Japanese schools as yet, so we shall have to study the best ways to bring about political education."

We got the same sort of reply from Professor Konishi of the Kyoto Imperial University. "Under present conditions in Japan it is not necessary to discuss political opinions in high school. In the upper classes we should try to convince the students of the rightness of the prevailing point of view. The students should be guided by the teacher to appreciate the present system. Independent thinking may come in the future but I don't believe that the time is ripe for it. We must, of course, prevent Marxism and develop a love of the present system."

Not one person whom we interviewed in Japan, with the possible exception of Dr. Nitobe, really believed in

allowing students, even in the high schools, to discuss vital issues of the present day.

There was almost an equal degree of unanimity in the answers to the question as to teaching internationalism. "It is very necessary for us to educate our children in an international attitude," said Count Hayashi. "We are doing it in our new system of civic education in the middle schools (secondary schools). Our nationalism is not so narrow as to create a conflict with the international view. Patriotism must not be chauvinism. The spirit of love of one's country must be broadened to the spirit of love of internationality. That is the focus of the moral program of the twentieth century—reconciliation of the individual and the group, of the nation and the world. In all types of activity—trade, commerce, education—in every field we must bring about this reconciliation. Nationalism and internationalism are said to be at opposite poles; but polarity lies in one line."

The matter was also well put, though more briefly, by Dr. Nitobe. "Japan needs to give its children a feeling of general interest in world welfare, much more than does America, for your country is self-sufficient. Internationalism is an extension of nationalism, just as nationalism is an extension of the local spirit. I don't think we can be loyal to the world community without being patriotic. Both require the same attitude of mind. Without being true to myself I cannot be true to others."

Let me quote just one more—Dr. Makiyama: "Our country always stands on righteousness and holds that the relation between country and country is like the relation between individual and individual. As each individual has



his own rights and prestige and honor, so has each nation. If in the present status one nation should be unduly violated in prestige and honor, it should defend its rights and prestige. While we are looking toward the time when decisions by warfare shall be replaced by international arbitration and courts, we must, until that ideal is realized, have fortifications and an army to defend our honor and prestige, but not to attack other countries.

"Of course, we should recognize the world-wide community and brotherhood of human races not only in commerce, but in personal relations. We educationists must promote the spirit of internationalism to perfection.

"The present day leaders of Japan—not necessarily politicians but leaders in all fields—are aiming to do things based on righteousness. If other countries likewise will stand for righteousness, there should be no breach of peace."

"Aren't there different ideas of righteousness?" I asked. "For example, don't the Chinese hold a different idea from the Japanese as to the 'Twenty-one Demands'? Aren't there some Koreans who question the righteousness of Japan's domination of their country?"

"Difficult political questions of this sort occur in all countries. We are doing our best to embody the ideals of virtue in our relations to other countries and we trust that the things we do are right. If we find that they are not right, we correct them. We stand on righteousness. Present day patriotism in our country will never conflict with loyalty to the world community. There are some mistaken patriots here and there, but most of the thoughtful persons

are trying to lead our people and our school children to the goal of loyalty to the world community of nations."

It is significant that some eight months after this conversation Japan had invaded Manchuria!

The conflict between child-centered education and education based upon the demands of society does not seem to be a vital question in Japan, as it is in America. Education is in accordance with the Imperial Rescript. This assumes a certain amount of intellectual and moral training, and intellectual and moral training are in terms of society's demands.

Again Dr. Nitobe states part of the issue pithily. "Our aim is to impart knowledge of facts, but such facts as are of use to the individual first as a citizen, second as a human being. I am afraid that the tendency in Japan is not so much to consider the person as an end in himself but to value him according to his use to the state."

It must not be thought, however, that child-centered education has no place in Japan. It was generally conceded that the development of originality (advocated in the Imperial Rescript), self-expression and a reasonable degree of freedom to select from one's environment those things for which one feels a need, is a desirable phase of education. Professor Konishi of Kyoto went so far as to say: "One must have a full view of the meaning of life every minute—a happy childhood leads to happy youth, a happy youth to happy manhood. It is important to enjoy the happiness of each age at the moment and not to sacrifice it to some future end. The time of childhood does not come again, so the child must enjoy it.

"Practically, however," he added, "there must be some sacrifice of the present to the future. Self-expression is an important purpose but there are certain things which must be taught. More important even than these facts and skills is formal training in general abilities. We should also develop the Japanese spirit as a family system, recognizing our common descent from the Imperial Ancestor. We must and do develop for the whole nation the family ideal of love, respect and faithfulness. They are the foundation of humanity, the spirit, the creative power of culture."

There is too much similarity of opinion in Japan on this question to justify extended quotations. Aizawa summarizes the present situation as it exists in practice and apparently in the ideals of Japan's leaders when he says, "We teach the fundamental subjects which are necessary for intelligent living and Japanese citizenship. Our school regulations are rather strict and must be followed by the teachers. Many teachers, however, without opposing the school regulations are introducing more freedom and new methods. We have a few idealists who believe that each child should live in the full enjoyment of the present without thought for the future. But it is generally acknowledged that to some extent the present happiness of children must be sacrificed for their future well-being as adults."

The second phase of our last question, dealing with mental hygiene, showed this to be *terra incognita* in Japanese education. Not one person seemed to know what we were talking about. Their reaction to the idea of the importance of developing the emotional side of children's lives was always favorable but often somewhat uncomprehending. There was a strong tendency to interpret the idea

as meaning moral education in the field of self-control and inculcating certain virtues.

"Children are taught to have balanced emotional life," said Dr. Nitobe, "but this personal development is not encouraged on its own merits as I personally believe it should be. It is taught rather as a duty which a child owes to his parents and his country."

"We have in Japan self-sacrifice and control," said Count Hayashi. "Boys and girls are first egoistic and we cannot repress this but must gradually transform it to altruistic ends. I think the idea of a balanced emotional life is good, but at present we have no time. We need a good boarding department in school to bring this about."

"You say that you do not have time for the emotional side of education," I said. "Do you think it is sufficiently important to justify sacrificing some of the academic and intellectual aspects of education for it?"

"Yes," he replied, "we might well do so—if we could; but we have the minimum now, you know."

In practice, creative work and self-expression, which are essential ingredients in any program of emotional development, find some place in a few of the most advanced schools, especially on the primary level. The Seijo-Gakuen, for example, near Tokio, has much creative handwork, art, and writing, and its new sister school, Tamagawa, is giving its children contact with reality through a great deal of very practical work. We saw them breaking the ground and preparing it for the spring sowing high on a hill overlooking a valley and the mountain range from which Mount Fuji rises. Plodding through mud we went from the farm to the metal shop, the woodworking shop, and the forge, and saw



thirteen- and fourteen-year-old boys making real things of direct use to themselves and the school. On the way we passed a group at work building a road. The academic work in this school, however, is comparatively formal and quite unrelated to the practical activities.

In Seijo and in several other schools we found the leaven of the Dalton Plan at work freeing the children from class lockstep and throwing them more upon their own responsibility.

The elementary schools attached to the higher normal schools for women in Tokio and Nara were encouragingly free from formalism in the lower grades. The activities of the children reminded one strongly of those in the "new schools" of Europe and the "progressive schools" of America. Here was a fish market in which children were bartering for paper fish they had made. There was an outdoor sketching class, each child choosing his own subject and sketching it with remarkable skill. In several primary rooms children were teaching themselves reading and number through games played in pairs or small groups. There was the freedom, stir, informality, and absorbed activity so dear to the heart of modern education.

Even in less definitely experimental schools—in the Fuji Elementary School in Tokio for example—there was a surprising degree of freedom and camaraderie between children and teachers. We visited only a few of the best schools, so it would be quite unsafe to generalize as to common practice. But the goal of Japanese education is better exemplified in those schools considered best by Japanese educators than in the common run of schools.

A family-like freedom of intercourse exists in the school

system as it does in the social organization. However, it is, I believe, more the freedom resulting from the stability of established relationships than the freedom of equality. The maids in the Japanese hotel where we stayed and the waitresses in various restaurants and tea houses chatted familiarly with their customers in a manner quite unknown in equally high class places in democratic America—there is no danger in Japan of an overstepping of social boundaries. In the same way the children, deeply inculcated with respect for their elders, are able to enjoy a large measure of freedom without danger of breaches of discipline.

#### TO SUMMARIZE

Despite its many external changes, due to its contact with the western world and to its consequent industrial development, the basis of Japanese civilization is unchanged. How long the Shinto attitude toward family, emperor and nation will continue to characterize Japanese life and thought, I cannot predict. But at the present moment it is the dominant note in all Japanese education, even as conceived by the most advanced leaders of Japanese educational thought.

Quite naturally, therefore, education in Japan is for effective participation in the existing kind of society, making only such changes as are involved in helping that society to live up to its own ideals. The individual is quite subordinate to the state, self-immolation for country and emperor being the highest virtue. History and biography are so taught as to foster these ideals which are held to be more important than objective accuracy. In the schools

there is, of course, no real freedom of discussion of live current issues.

There is an attempt to develop a spirit of internationalism and of virtue in international dealings. This is not dreamed of, however, as replacing or in any way diminishing nationalistic patriotism. It is rather the relationship of compact, unified and stable Japan, sensitive to its honor and prestige, with the other nations of the world.

Education is dominantly society-centered. While some creative activities and self-expression are advocated and may be found in primary grades, the curriculum is fixed by the central authorities, in general accord with the Imperial Rescript. Although there is some objection to the rigidity of centralized control, there is no real questioning of the desirability of a curriculum of facts and skills planned by adults to prepare children for adult life.

For all its adoption of western—usually American—forms, and its use of some phases of the Dalton Plan and Project Method, Japanese education is fundamentally conservative—an education to conserve the existing structure of Japanese society conceived of as one great family descended from the ancient Imperial Household and governed by the divinely descended Heavenly Ruler.

## CHAPTER THREE

### EDUCATING THE NEW CHINA

**B**EFORE proceeding to the viewpoints of the various Chinese leaders as to the aims of Chinese education, let me summarize sketchily the brief but turbulent history of the Chinese Republic, and the Three Principles of the People developed by Sun Yat-sen, which form the basis for all education in China to-day.<sup>1</sup>

Revolutionary rumblings became audible as early as 1895, when, following China's defeat at the hands of Japan, an abortive attempt at revolt led to the exile of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Sun was a young physician in China at the time, and the rest of his life was devoted to fostering the cause of revolution. This cause gained considerable impetus after the Boxers staged their futile war against westerners and all western influence in 1900.

In the fall of 1911 a mob of shareholders in a railroad, protesting against being cheated out of their rights, were told that the viceroy of the province would receive them if they would surrender their arms. As soon as they had complied with this request, they were massacred by the viceroy's

<sup>1</sup> The material for this summary is largely drawn from Edward Thomas Williams' excellent and comprehensive book, *China, Yesterday and Today* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1929), and from Frank W. Price's translation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's lectures, *San Min Chu I—The Three Principles of the People* (The Commercial Press, Limited, Shanghai, 1929).



guards. This treachery on the part of a representative of the Emperor was the match to the powder, and the revolution broke out all over China.

The revolution spread rapidly. A constitution was adopted. Sun Yat-sen returned from exile and two days later was elected President by representatives of the revolting provinces. He took the oath of office on New Year's Day, 1912.

In February the Manchus abdicated, and in order to unite all China Sun Yat-sen yielded his presidency of the southern provinces to Yuan Shih-k'ai who had been Prime Minister under the Empire.

Yuan later betrayed his trust and tried to become emperor. Then began a series of complicated intrigues, rebellions and civil wars, usually fought not for principle but for the personal power of some war lord.

In the midst of these struggles, and while the attention of the rest of the world was focused on the World War, Japan made her infamous Twenty-one Demands upon China; demands which, had they been met, would have robbed China of much of her sovereignty. China, too weak to resist and unable to secure much support from a war-torn world, acceded to some of the demands. Japan, facing the world's criticism and disapproval, withdrew or modified several, while still others were left for later negotiations. Some of these have contributed to the present occupation of Manchuria.

The southern part of China remained the seat of Sun Yat-sen's power throughout the battling in the North. But even the South had internecine strife, Sun Yat-sen himself

being obliged for a time to take refuge in the foreign quarter in Shanghai.

During the period between 1920 and 1925 Sun Yat-sen and his Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, were much influenced by the ideals of Soviet Russia and received considerable practical help from the Russian Government. They learned especially how to use propaganda effectively.

Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, but his party and his Three Principles of the People lived on, probably strengthened by his death.

The next year General Chiang Kai-shek became the leader of the Kuomintang and had a remarkable series of victories against the northern forces, due as much to the skillful use of propaganda among the enemy's soldiers as to military skill.

Chiang's progress was checked by dissension within the Kuomintang. The communist element of the party appeared to be responsible for the anti-foreign outrages in Nanking; so Chiang repudiated the communists and set up a separate government with Nanking, instead of Canton, as its capital. He then gradually succeeded in bringing the rest of China under at least nominal control of the reorganized Kuomintang, which declared Chiang Kai-shek President of China. He remained president until Japan's aggression in the fall of 1931, when he and his cabinet resigned.

The form of government, while called a republic, is really a party dictatorship something like that in Russia. This form of government, however, is considered to be purely provisional, to last only until the people have been educated to the responsibilities of citizenship.

There is a consistent attempt to make the memory of Sun Yat-sen and the belief in his principles the unifying force of China. In every schoolroom—primary or university—Dr. Sun's photograph is enshrined between the flag of the nation and the flag of the party. Every Monday all students must bow thrice to this photograph and stand reverently while the will of Sun Yat-sen is read: "For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. . . . To attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those people of the world who treat us on the basis of equality. The work of the revolution is not yet done. Let all our comrades follow my plans for National Reconstruction . . . and Three Principles of the People . . . and strive on earnestly for their consummation. . . ."

The Three Principles are: "People's Nationalism, People's Sovereignty, and the People's Livelihood." Those are to be the watchwords for the Chinese Revolution as were Liberty, Equality and Fraternity for the French Revolution.

Liberty, according to Dr. Sun, is not the principal need in China to-day. The Chinese have always had personal freedom. "On no account must we give more liberty to the individual," he said. "Let us secure liberty instead for the nation. To make the nation free, each must sacrifice his personal freedom."

In his attempt to develop the spirit of nationalism Sun Yat-sen would not only sacrifice personal freedom, but

would also eschew, for the present, internationalism. "Those young students who . . . espouse cosmopolitanism . . . might have some ground if they spoke for England and America or even for our own forefathers, but if they think they are speaking for Chinese to-day, we have no place for them. . . . 'Those desiring to pacify the world must first govern their own state.' Let us revive our lost nationalism and make it shine with greater splendor. Then we will have some ground for discussing internationalism."

The People's Sovereignty means, of course, some form of democracy. "But the democracy advocated in the Three Principles," says Dr. Sun, "is different from western democracy. We will use our Principle of the People's Sovereignty and remake China into a nation under complete popular rule, ahead of Europe and America. . . . But in this new age a distinction must surely be made between sovereignty and ability. . . . The foundation of the government of a nation must be built upon the rights of the people, but the administration of government must be entrusted to experts.

"There are their two forces in politics, the political power of the people and the administrative power of the government. . . . The people . . . will be able to control directly the affairs. The other power (of government) . . . we will put . . . in the government organs, which will be powerful, and will manage all the nation's business."

The control by the people is to be through suffrage, and the initiative, referendum, and recall. These Dr. Sun calls the four great powers of the people.

The administrative power of the government is to be



of five kinds: three of them—legislative, judiciary, and executive—patterned after the American constitution; the other two—examining and censorial—derived from old China. The examining function of the government means the Civil Service examination “whereby the government may select officials on the basis of their ability.” “The power of the Censorship includes the power to impeach, which other governments have but which is placed in the legislative body, and is not a separate government power. . . .

“Only as the government is given such power and the opportunity to work in these different directions can it manifest great dignity and authority and become an all-powerful government. Only as the people are given great power and the various checks upon the government will they not be afraid of the government becoming all powerful and uncontrollable.”

The People’s Livelihood means “the existence of society, the welfare of the nation, the life of the masses. . . . It is socialism; it is communism; it is Utopianism,” says Sun Yat-sen.

“The Kuomintang some time ago in its party platform settled upon two methods by which the Principle of Livelihood is to be carried out. The first method is equalization of land ownership, and the second is regulation of capital. If we follow these two methods, we can solve the livelihood problem in China.”

In another place Sun says, “The great aim of the Principle of Livelihood is a share in property by all. But the communism which we propose is a communism of the future, not of the present. . . . Those who have had property in the past will not suffer at all by it. It is a very dif-

ferent thing from what is called in the West, 'Nationalization of Property.'

"China must not only regulate private capital, but she must also develop state capital. . . . We must begin to build means of communication, railways, and waterways. . . . We must open up mines. . . . We must hasten to foster manufacturing.

"We shall not be able to promote one of these three great industries by our own knowledge and experience: we cannot but depend upon the already created capital of other countries. . . . If the industries are carried on by the state, the rights and privileges which they bring will be enjoyed by all the people."

Sun Yat-sen sums up his Three Principles as follows: "Our Three Principles of the People mean government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people'—that is, a state belonging to all the people, a government controlled by all the people, and rights and benefits for the enjoyment of all the people. If this is true, the people will not only have a communistic share in state production, but they will have a share in everything. When the people share everything in the state, then will we truly reach the goal . . . which is Confucius' hope of a 'Great Commonwealth.' "

An important factor in the present Chinese situation, definitely affecting education and the general outlook of China's leaders, is the feeling that China has been abused by foreign powers, that these powers have taken advantage of her military weakness and deprived her of part of her sovereignty. This feeling is based upon the fact that foreign powers have taken possession of outlying parts of the original Chinese Empire, that they have forced upon China

unequal treaties, giving themselves rights and privileges in China which they never would give the Chinese in their own countries, and that they maintain extraterritoriality in China.

Of regions which once belonged to China, the British Empire has gradually taken over Aden, Ceylon, Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, Malacca, Burma, and Hongkong. France has taken French Indo-China. Spain once took the Sulu Archipelago which passed on to the United States after the Spanish-American War. Japan took the Loochoos, Korea, Formosa and the Pescadares, and is now occupying Manchuria, while Czarist Russia helped herself to much of Central Asia and the Siberian Maritime Province east of Ussuri and also extended her boundaries to the banks of the Amur. "Thus," says Professor E. T. Williams, "the great empire of China has gradually been eaten away at the fringes."

The unequal treaties include such things as special leases of territory; the granting of special privileges to foreign powers, such as acknowledging Japan's predominant position in South Manchuria and eastern, inner Mongolia; the forced extending of railroad leases to Japan; special mining privileges; the agreement to consult the Japanese in case any political, financial, or military advisers or instructors are to be engaged for certain districts; etc. They include, too, the right of foreign powers to determine Chinese tariffs, although at present this right is being given up by the foreign powers.

Probably nothing rankles more in the Chinese breast than extraterritoriality. This system provides that citizens of foreign countries who violate Chinese laws in China are

not to be tried in Chinese courts but in special consular courts of their own country. Professor Williams illustrates the injustice of this system in the following instance:

Two Chinese, two Americans, one Englishman, and a Dane were engaged in a case of robbery and murder at T'ung Chou, near Peking. The two Chinese were beheaded within twenty-four hours. The two Americans, sent to Tientsin for trial, were sentenced to four years at the Penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth. The Consul did not have power of life and death. The Englishman was held for the next session of the British Court at Tientsin, a delay of six months. The witnesses neglected to appear and he was discharged. The Danish government had no arrangements for trial and the Dane was discharged.

These foreign courts, moreover, cannot compel the attendance of witnesses of another nationality and this sometimes makes judgment difficult. The Consular courts are often far from the scene of the crime and Chinese will suffer in silence rather than take the long journey from home necessary to the laying of complaint before a foreign court.

Of course the bad condition of Chinese courts in the past has been responsible for extraterritoriality. China has recently instituted many reforms, and a commission representing the foreign powers is at work on a plan for giving up this right.

The new China wants to occupy a position of equality among the nations of the world and bitterly resents these



encroachments on her sovereignty. This attitude came out again and again during our interviews.

We were prepared for our first interview while we were still on shipboard on our way to the Orient. On the same ship was T. T. Woo, a prominent Shanghai cement manufacturer, returning home after representing his government in some negotiations with the League of Nations. I was eagerly seizing the opportunity to get first-hand information on Chinese economic and social conditions.

"When you go to Mukden, you must meet the young Marshal," Mr. Woo said, during one of our conversations.

"Do you mean the Northern War Lord, whose father, Chang Tso-lin, was killed as he retired from Peiping to Manchuria about three years ago?" I asked.

"Yes. We want him to meet people like you—people from America and Europe with other than military and political interests. It is good for him."

"Will he see me?"

"It can probably be arranged."

When we reached Mukden six weeks later we were met at the train by Mr. Chi, president of the Provincial Education Association, and two or three others—tall men, bulky in their padded clothes and long, fur-lined dark blue gowns. They had a program planned of sightseeing, conferences, a lecture, and feasts. Soon after we reached our hotel, Mr. Woo Kai-hiang, the Commissioner of Education for the province and secretary to Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, called upon us. We told him that we should like to see the young Marshal and asked if it could be managed. He promised to do what he could for us.

The next evening, in the midst of an official feast of some thirty courses, we received word that the Marshal would see us in his home if we could come right away. Our hosts graciously excused my wife and me for this important occasion. Leaving the rest of our family feasting on shark's fins, fish lips, pigeon eggs, bamboo shoots, bird's nest soup, and innumerable other Chinese delicacies, we drove with Mr. Chi, first through broad thoroughfares and then through narrow winding streets to a gap in a wall, guarded by armed soldiers.

With the help of Mr. Chi's pass emblem, and later of my card, we made our way gradually from guard to guard, from room to courtyard, and finally to a surprisingly European mansion. On entering the front door we were greeted by a large tiger, fortunately stuffed. He quite dominated the entrance hall. We were ushered into a parlor and seated between two other huge tigers while an embroidered one looked down from the wall.

After we had been given tea and cigarettes, the young Marshal entered. Slender, scholarly looking (although he is not a scholar), with a gleaming smile, he greeted us and apologized for keeping us waiting. It was hard to realize that this youth of thirty-one was the vice-commander of all China's armies and naval and air forces, the ruler of three provinces, and, next to President Chiang Kai-shek, perhaps the most powerful man in China. He is apparently quite a different man from his father, whose power and wealth he inherited. He has given over nine million dollars of his personal fortune to developing education in Manchuria, and is nominally the president of the Northeastern Uni-

versity in Mukden, to the founding and support of which he has contributed generously.

"The American friends of China," I said, "feel that you have done a great thing for your country in helping to stop civil war by throwing your support to the Nationalist government. In China's desperate need of unification and peace we feel that you could have rendered no greater service. We all rejoiced when we heard of your action."

"I feel that I have done very little for my country," he demurred.

As I brought the discussion around to the subject of education, the young Marshal said: "The work of the world must be done by the common people. If we are to have a unified China, all the people must participate in the government. We therefore must have universal education. And in our present condition elementary education is more important than higher education. We should educate for the three principles of the people (nationalism, democracy, economic welfare), but we should not try through education to make a specific kind of society. We should rather develop each individual as fully as possible, helping him to recognize himself as a part of common mankind and to work for the people of the world.

"Children in the elementary schools should not select their own problems for discussion, but in the higher schools they should select their problems and discuss current issues quite freely.

"The thoughts of the people must not be directed by a few leaders—each must learn to think for himself. If, as in Russia and Italy, we try to make all children think alike,

our efforts will be futile—when the students get out of school they will react against such imposed thought.

“Education, therefore, should not be toward a preconceived state, but toward the full development of each child’s individuality. The general direction of education, however, should be toward the principles enunciated by Sun Yat-sen.”

We did not realize until later how aptly he had struck the keynote of present day Chinese educational thought.

After our interview with the young Marshal, and the belated finishing of our interrupted feast, we returned to our hotel with several of the leaders of the Mukden educational world: Woo, the Commissioner of Education for the province; Liu, president of the Northeastern University; Hsia, secretary of the Bureau of Education; and Chi, principal of the High School and president of the Provincial Education Association.

They were a young group, ranging from twenty-five or thirty to not more than forty years of age. This was characteristic of the Chinese educators. Of all whom we interviewed, I believe President Chang Po-ling of Nankai, who is about fifty, and the elderly and scholarly Chancellor Tsai Yuen-pei, were the only ones who were not distinctly young men. In Japan, on the other hand, only two or three of the people at the educational helm were as young as forty and the average age must have been close to sixty. Another contrast illustrated by the Mukden men lay in the fact that while a number of the Japanese had traveled in America, almost none of their educational leaders had had American educational training. The Chinese, on the other hand, were more often than not graduates of American



educational institutions, Columbia University dominating, but Michigan, Cornell, Chicago, Stanford, and other universities having their representatives.

The men who joined in the conference in Mukden were a live and thoughtful group. They discussed each question earnestly, and we did not break up until the sleepy night boy reproachfully reminded us that it was nearly two A.M.

From Mukden we went to Peiping and visited, in the outskirts, Yen Ching and Tsing Hua Universities. At the National University in Peiping we talked with its president, Chiang Mon-lin, who had just resigned his post as minister of education.

"In this very room," he said to us, "much of the Chinese Revolution was hatched. My secretary was shot for communistic activities. I have walked through the courtyard through which you just entered, picking my way between the dead bodies of my students. They had been killed—both boys and girls—for their revolutionary or communistic political work. Our former president, Tsai Yuen-pei, now chancellor of the Research Institute in Shanghai, started his reforms in this university. He held that a university should harbor every opinion and every type of teaching."

Later, in Shanghai, we met Chancellor Tsai and took tea with him in his home. In him we saw the scholar of the old régime, who had had the courage of his convictions for freedom of thought and who, a power in the revolution, was now a member of the Central Executive Committee which governs China.

One of the most interesting men with whom we talked was Hu Shih, the philosopher. We had expected him to be

elderly, more the type of Chancellor Tsai, but he was young. He holds a Ph.D. from Columbia University, and we found him thoughtful, calm, clear-headed, and very articulate. He was living in a large Chinese house, set well back in an attractive garden. We drove with him in his American automobile (or rather his chauffeur drove—we never saw a Japanese or Chinese drive his own car). That was an interesting ride through the streets of Peiping, typical, in its contrasts, of to-day's China—Dr. Hu's modern American automobile threading its way through ancient streets, dodging rikshas and narrowly missing coolies with burdens nicely balanced on the two ends of their long carrying poles; the trend of current events ably discussed in perfect English by an Oriental who was steeped in the profundities of ancient Chinese sages.

From Peiping I went to Tientsin to see Chang Po-ling, the large, burly, genial president of Nankai University. Over thirty years ago he started as tutor to a rich man's children. Other children were added to the group until a school was formed. The school grew upward and became a university and then grew downward to embrace a primary and kindergarten department. It also expanded to include girls as well as boys. It is now known as one of the foremost educational institutions in China.

President Chang had a bad cold verging on influenza. I did not wonder, for with the temperature down around ten degrees Fahrenheit outside, the school buildings, like all those in China, were unheated. By the time I had given several lectures in the big, cold halls and had sat shivering through interviews and feasts, I, too, had a severe cold.

My outstanding talk with Chang Po-ling was in his bed-

room. He wore slippers with felt soles at least two inches thick, and, wrapped in his padded robes, he looked quite gigantic. In his friendly, magnetic personality, one saw the reason for Nankai's rapid growth and the love and veneration which all its students have for its president.

While in Tientsin I had another post-prandial conference with provincial officials, like that at Mukden. President Chang Po-ling could not attend because of his cold, but the Dean of Nankai University was there—Huang, a graduate of the University of Chicago. The Commissioner of Hopei Province, which extends westward from Tientsin to beyond Peiping, and the Secretary of his Bureau were active participants. The Commissioner is a Columbia man. And there were the presidents of the Provincial Girls' Normal College and of the College of Law and Commerce, and the principals of the boys' normal school, a middle school, and a vocational school. Besides Chicago and Columbia Universities, Stanford, Clark and Johns Hopkins were represented in that little group. We talked long into the evening while we digested—rather successfully, for my part—the fifty or more Chinese dishes we had consumed. By keeping close to the one stove, wearing my overcoat, and occasionally pacing the floor, I managed to stay fairly warm.

After Tientsin, Nanking, the new capital of China. It is a large, muddy, drab city on the Yangtse River. The old part consists largely of huddled, grass-thatched hovels clustered together almost without arrangement in the river flats, and of two- and three-story crowded tenements over tiny shops on narrow, dirty streets. There was brown, slushy snow on the ground at the time of our visit. Through this coolies trudged barefoot, the universal long carrying poles

over their shoulders—one wonders what in the world everybody is always carrying. The new part of the city has wide gravel streets raised above the low level of the houses. The depression between street and houses forms a sort of unsanitary, stagnant drainage ditch which serves as sewer for street, homes, and shops.

Some fine new buildings are going up, on the other hand, and provisions are being made for a city water supply. An American engineer was just completing the installation of an automatic telephone system. And the new mausoleum to Sun Yat-sen, although still under construction, has grandeur, dignity and beauty.

There is an atmosphere of bustle and intense activity in all the government departments—it reminded us much of Russia in its earnestness of endeavor and gruelling, hard work. Even our letter of introduction from the young Marshal in Mukden failed to secure me an interview with Chiang Kai-shek, then China's president and acting minister of Education. He sent his apologies and arranged for the two vice-ministers of Education to receive me.

They seemed very much bound up in officialdom, giving not so much their own ideas as the regulations of the department they represented. Before our interview was finished they manifested uneasiness at my probing questions. "Won't you submit your questions in writing," they said, "and let us mail you a considered, official answer?" I forebore calling their attention to the fact that I had mailed my questions to the Ministry before leaving America.

In Shanghai my principal interview was with Chancellor Tsai Yuen-pei, to whom I have already alluded. But there were several informal conferences, such as the one



with Dr. Kung, a direct descendant of Confucius, and now Minister of Finance and Industry; with Herman C. E. Liu, president of Shanghai College, and with a group of ardent, young educationists who formed the nucleus of a national association for the scientific study of education.

"Heaven is high and the Emperor is far away!" So runs an old Chinese proverb quoted to us by Hu Shih, the philosopher of present day China. He was illustrating the traditional individualism and personal independence of the Chinese, in answer to my question as to whether Chinese education should be directed toward forming a specific kind of society. "The enormous extent of the Chinese Empire, and the difficulty of transportation have always made a *laissez faire* policy inevitable. So while the Russian idea of making a definitely planned new society through education appeals to me and some others, I doubt its practicality in China. In Russia the instrumentalities of the old régime were handed down to the soviets; and in Italy Mussolini would have been impossible without the material basis left over from before the war. It would take a tremendous effort to build up a physical condition in China equal to that of Russia before the break-up. Therefore the rebuilding of society is bound to be a slow process. Under these circumstances I believe the Hamburg idea of developing each individual fully and letting him meet the new conditions and needs would be China's wisest course."

Chang Po-ling at Nankai University said: "We are so large that we cannot change customs rapidly; we have language difficulties; our methods of production are primitive and we haven't enough capital to improve them quickly.

Even if we could buy the machines, unemployment would be upon us. In the modern world there have been three fundamental changes: changing ideas, or the renaissance; the introduction of a representative form of government; and scientific methods of production—the industrial revolution. These came to the western world gradually, but to us all at once. It is like a blow that stuns us. We don't quite know where we are; but I think we will find ourselves. That is the ideal of some educationalists. Fortunately the Chinese have always revered learning; so we may be able to do something for the country through education."

In similar vein the Commissioner of Education for Hopei Province said: "We differ from Japan in not having any definite organization now. Everything has a broken roof. We want to repair these roofs. We want to discard the undesirable elements of the old culture and preserve and adapt the desirable ones. China hasn't a concrete aim in education, although a review of the government's orders would lead you to think that the aim was as definite as Russia's or Italy's—Nanking is partly imitating these two countries. But practically the people doubt the possibility of carrying out the Russian idea of education, and the government has no adequate or concrete program. Furthermore, the people in power in the Ministry of Education do not command general respect. Personally, I want to change Chinese society, but not wholly. I want to retain certain parts of Chinese civilization, but amalgamate them with modern ideas to make a new Chinese life."

This feeling that the best of the old Chinese culture should be retained at the same time that a new China is being created was rather generally shared by others.

The official viewpoint was expressed by the two vice-ministers at the capital. One said, "We do not believe in the development of individuals as the sole aim of education, nor have we an exclusively social aim. Our tradition is somewhat influenced by the Confucian doctrine of the happy medium. We are under the auspices of a party government and should follow the Three Principles laid down by Dr. Sun. We should maintain all the ethical codes of our sages but at the same time we should know the current movements of world thought."

"Dr. Sun believed that the individual should be developed on the condition that the country will be benefited," added the other vice-minister. "But he did not believe that the country should be developed at the expense of the development of the individual. So his policy was quite different from that of Russia."

This note of individual development was struck by almost everyone with whom we talked. China contrasted strongly with Japan in emphasizing the freedom of the individual as a goal of education. Yet that freedom was almost always conceived as a tempered freedom. The student was to take to his heart and cherish some of the wisdom of the sages of old. At the same time he was to be educated for participation in a new social order based on the Three Principles of the People. This last might seem like the Russian aim, but it differs in its absence of detail. It is education for participation in a society with certain broad basic principles of democracy—international, political, and economic—but without foreordained structure. Similarly, the preservation of the old culture and wisdom is quite different from the Japanese aim of the preservation of the present

social organization. China wants a wholly new social organization but one with roots that dig deep into the foundations of her ancient civilization and bring out the essence of the philosophy and arts of her wise men of old.

"No Chinese would ever say, 'My country, right or wrong.' " So spoke Huang, a graduate of the University of Chicago, now dean of Nankai University. Most of the other officials, gathered together that evening in Tientsin, nodded agreement. "Government is a necessary evil and the majority of Chinese are anarchists. God forbid that there should ever come a time when the Chinese government should become so efficient as to command the Chinese citizens to act contrary to their consciences. You ask whether I would train children to obey their consciences or their government if the two conflict. I say, I shall train children to keep a government in power which will bother the people as little as possible."

Hu Shih, the philosopher, when we talked to him in Peiping, felt much the same way. "I am an individualist when it comes to the question of liberty versus authority. I belong to the class of conscientious objectors. Democracy will not break down if those who think the government is wrong refuse to act in accordance with its commands; for the vast majority in any country will be subject to crowd psychology. Even in England and America very few blocked the way of the World War. I would influence the children to follow the dictates of their own conscience; to think for themselves."

These were the more extreme statements of the individualistic viewpoint. Most of the Chinese took a more com-



promising view—the president of the Northeastern University in Mukden, for example: “If disobedience will do more harm than obedience, obey,” he said. “But if you believe that obedience will bring greater harm to the people of the nation than will disobedience, disobey. As long as the nation exists, its needs must be considered.”

Another added, “Theoretically no country should have blind devotion to national policies, but practically the nation needs the people’s support, especially at critical times.”

“The Chinese people have the power of passive resistance,” was Chang Po-ling’s way of putting it. “They may not listen attentively to what the government commands. The degree of coöperation with the government depends on circumstances. Even in countries where the majority is supposed to govern and the minority to obey, people compromise. Many citizens of ‘dry’ America keep liquor in their cellars. Confucius said, ‘there are some moral laws which you must not violate, but there are minor rules where you cannot expect people to be alike. Give them some margin.’ Similarly one may have principles that he cannot violate, while there are others which he may yield to national exigencies.”

Chiang Mon-lin, president of the National University in Peiping, took the more strongly nationalistic view. “The present China needs the type of citizen who thinks national existence is more important than personal existence. Once the country has acted you must throw your forces in with it. The old China put the family first. Now the state is first.”

With this point of view several of the people in Mukden agreed. “We should train children to be loyal to the nation, but intelligent as to what is right and wrong in na-

tional policies," said Dean Li. "If, for example, the nation is in a position to declare war, those who are conscientiously opposed should do their best to prevent the action, but once the declaration is made, the citizens should obey rather than endanger the nation. After the war they should again give their opinions vigorously so as to prevent the recurrence of such a condition." And the Commissioner added, "From the political point of view, each citizen must obey his own government. But the purpose of education is to find rationality and truth; so, although the citizen should obey his government's order, he should recognize its wrongness, if it is wrong; otherwise he will lose his discrimination between wrong and truth."

From these various statements it is obvious that China has no such unified and consistent a policy in regard to the relative importance of individual conscience and loyalty to the nation as has Japan. Those who are influencing Chinese thought differ among themselves. But I think it is safe to say that the general trend, right now, is away from the extreme individualism expressed by Dean Huang at Tientsin, and by Hu Shih, and toward a considerable degree of compliance with national policies, even when this necessitates the subordination of one's own conscientious scruples.

"How far should the teaching of history and biography follow the lines of objective truthfulness instead of being used as a means to the end of inculcating certain ideals?" was our next question. There was considerable unanimity in the reply. The Mukden group, for example, were fairly well agreed. "Confucius says, 'Subjects should conceal the badness of the emperor, the son should conceal the shortcomings of his father.' This leads to peace. But to reveal

the shortcomings will often lead to a better social order. The child should be taught both the good and bad of his nation's heroes and acts or we cheat him. The shortcomings should be explained but the child should have the absolute truth." So spoke the Secretary of the Bureau of Education.

"We must teach children that no man or society is perfect," President Liu commented. "Everything is right or wrong relatively, not absolutely. Only by telling our children the defects of our country can we give them thinking power. We shall do harm if we try to make all things seem right."

"Yes," said Commissioner Woo. "The purpose of education is to find out righteousness and truth. Confucius says, 'If three people are working together, two of them are teachers of the third. If one is good, the third can follow. If the other is bad, the third knows what to avoid.'"

"But we should forgive the wrong while advocating the right," said one. And Dean Li continued, "The important thing is the teacher's attitude. Some are cynical, criticizing for the sake of criticism, overstressing shortcomings and belittling good things."

Principal Wang compromised a little. "Teach both the good and the bad," he said, "but only those weaknesses which have educational value."

The group in Tientsin expressed similar views. And Chang Po-ling emphasized the need for avoiding irrelevant matters, saying, "Nelson's private conduct had nothing to do with his ability as a commander. While I believe objective truth should be taught, our purpose in teaching biography is to get children to do great things, not just to describe the person."

The official viewpoint as expressed by the vice-ministers and also by Chancellor Tsai Yuen-pei, who it will be remembered is a member of the executive committee of the government, is different. Tsai said, "It is best to teach the good things only—there are so many good things that it is not necessary to teach the bad. It is a Chinese tradition to speak no evil of others. Let the children discover for themselves when they grow up that the heroes are not perfect. But as to the deeds of their country, it is best to show them both sides from the beginning."

And the vice-minister said, "At present what we need is unity of thought. Our education should be planned for this purpose. By revering Dr. Sun and his doctrines we will realize our freedom and equality. To unite the thought of the masses, we should, for the time being, adopt his instructions and policies without criticism or question."

This point of view was directly attacked by the Dean and Commissioner at Tientsin. "It is considered sacrilegious to publish Sun Yat-sen's weaknesses; but *we* think he is great through his failings and we would not try to make him a demi-god. We are required to read his will every week as a prayer—such things will bring reaction against him. To overidealize a hero is to depreciate his real personality."

The whole Tientsin group agreed with this statement and I believe it is more characteristic of the general sentiment among Chinese thinkers than is the propaganda view expressed in Nanking.

The next question dealt with freedom of discussion. I knew that it was officially forbidden in China, as it is in Japan, to discuss communism in schools, and I was anxious



to find out whether the Chinese accepted this prohibition with the same degree of acquiescence as did the Japanese educationists. While the young Marshal in Mukden opposed discussion of communism, the rest of the Mukden group favored free discussion of all controversial questions.

Dean Li said, "If we want to train children to be intelligent, we must allow them to discuss live issues in the classroom, no matter how hotly they debate them. To avoid discussion would prevent sound public opinion. National affairs need good discussion if they are to be well settled."

President Liu went on, "Discussion gives people preparation for meeting issues in the future. While in politics the minority must bow to the majority, education must know no such imposition."

The educators in Tientsin felt much the same way but said that the teacher must never exert his influence against the dominant or official point of view. The commissioner for the province said, "I would try to keep a person who was in strong opposition to the official point of view from being a teacher. Should there be such a person in my teaching corps, I should tell him to keep still about his opinion in class, although he may express himself fully outside."

Dean Huang said, "The elementary and high school teacher should do his best to make his children agree with the majority opinion; but, in the university, there should be freedom of thought and expression for teacher and pupil."

"Yes," added the president of the Girls' Normal College, "but the university teacher should present all the facts, pro and con, before explaining his own ideas. Then,

after he has expressed his viewpoint as fully as possible, he should let the students think for themselves."

In Peiping the acting president of Tsing Hua University gave a rather discriminating reply: "Elementary school children should discuss questions within their grasp. They are probably not qualified to discuss so large a problem as communism because they have no knowledge about its effects. The elementary teacher should give information rather than speak for or against a doctrine and when the children discuss a problem should draw out their reasons and make them give facts in support of what they say. The teacher should correct their facts. The teacher has a moral right to try to influence the children by reasoning and arguments to agree with his personal viewpoint even if it is contrary to national policy. But legally it is another matter. As acting president of this university I should tell my students to act legally. As a free professor I should tell them to follow their conscience rather than the law."

The philosopher, Hu Shih, felt that there should be free class discussion and cited the Scopes trial in America as a horrible example of a majority trying to impose its will on a teacher instead of allowing him to teach what he thought was the truth. Even Chancellor Tsai Yuen-pei said, "The student certainly has a right to discuss any questions, although the government will not allow students to become too radical or too communistic. It feels that radical changes must come gradually with the growth of the nation in thought."

President Chang Po-ling felt that free discussion had better wait ten years or so. "People are still nervous," he said, "and can't use cool thought and calm discussion. Let

us avoid controversial issues right now when unification and the strengthening of the government are so necessary."

This was in harmony with the ideas of the vice-minister at Nanking. "The plan Dr. Sun left us says state affairs shall be managed in three stages, (1) military, (2) tutelage, and (3) constitutional. At present we are in the tutelage stage. We must train the children to participate as intelligent citizens in building the new country on the basis of the Three Principles of the People. The children may discuss other principles, but the teacher should direct the discussion to give the children the impression that these are all inferior to those enunciated by Sun Yat-sen. This is true from elementary school through the university. Propaganda against the Three Principles is not allowed and students must not even discuss communism."

Once more the Tientsin group were a bit rebellious about such repression. "The government by prohibiting the discussion of certain issues propagates them," they said.

My next question dealt with the reconciliation of nationalism and internationalism. Chiang Mon-lin of the National University of Peiping remarked, "For the next fifteen or twenty years it is a two-sided story unless foreign nations will undo some of the wrongs they have done. A nation must be able to stand on its own feet before it can talk internationalism. Who actually believes in internationalism anyway, except a few idealists?"

I asked whether he didn't think that we might show how international concord was to the people's material advantage.

"How can children understand that, when even statesmen don't?" he said. "Do you think that if the makers of

the Versailles Treaty had been taught internationalism when they were in school fifty years ago, they would have made a different Treaty? I don't. Because they would not have been taught in connection with the actual situation which later arose. When conditions change, the conscience changes. All we can do is to develop children's individuality in school."

Nevertheless, he felt that China was emphasizing nationalism too strongly and that the textbooks showed the aggression of other nations too forcibly. "Students feel that all foreign powers are pushing in on them, and it discourages them," he went on. "Some time ago I was visiting a school on National Humiliation Day. As the principal told the children of the wrongs other nations had done to China, he wept before them and I saw his sadness reflected on their faces, even though they did not understand. I begged the principal not to do this thing to children, for they are like growing flowers and their natures should not be saddened."

President Liu in Mukden shared some of Chiang Mon-lin's doubt as to how far an international spirit could be developed in China to-day. "In an organic world what is good for the part is good for the whole, but we are living in a mechanical one, where something may be good for one part but bad for another—perhaps due to the organization of the world into separate nations. We must teach patriotism to the nation first, to the world community where that does not conflict with the national welfare. We *hope* that if all nations are reasonable to others, there will be no conflict. If there is conflict, the fault lies not in patriotism, but in the act of some government."



The acting president of Tsing Hua University near Peiping expressed the matter aptly. "In our personal lives we are members of a family and of society. If another family tries to suppress ours, we oppose that oppression both as members of our own family and for the sake of social justice. We can sacrifice our family for a nation, but not for another family. Likewise we can sacrifice our nation for the whole world, but not for another nation."

"China to-day would be better off if she understood other nations better and realized that her problems were bound up with international problems," said Hu Shih. "It is erroneous to say that for China to think internationally now would be like a lamb trying to be friendly with a lion. That is short-sighted, while in education we must be long-sighted and do away with hate and conceit. Nationalism in the mind of the statesman is one thing, in the mind of a child, another. For the statesman is checked by the situation he is in, but a nationalistic child inflamed is a savage and a menace. Our new textbooks are terrible. They inflame hatred and blind the child to the good in other countries. We should train children to find the good in every nation."

Dean Huang summarized the matter for the men at Tientsin: "We would have the child become a worthy member of the world community through being a good citizen of China. Popular opinion and party policy will agree in the slogan, 'Come, stand up, wake up, China! Allow no chance for imperialism!'" Others of the group added, "We are not in favor of narrow nationalism. The majority of educational thinkers see the need of bringing about a clearer realization of international responsibility. But to be

good world citizens our children must live in an orderly, reasonably comfortable condition, and our country to enter the world group must have equally high standards. If our country is cheated, if there is aggression by other nations, it must stand up for its own rights."

The Chinese educators did not seem to be disturbed about the conflict that exists in America between child-centered education and education scientifically organized to meet adult social needs. Commissioner Chang in Tientsin phrased the Chinese point of view rather well: "Give the child freedom to have his own activities, and through these train the traits which adults need. Analyze the needs of society, and if children's freely chosen activities fail to prepare them for some of these, modify the activities so that they will."

Dean Huang showed Dr. Judd's influence when he said, "I don't see why you American educators pay so much attention to this question. Until you have analyzed social needs and the child's needs so completely that you know where they differ, the question is meaningless. I would substitute cultural traits for adult needs, and then put culture first, child life next. Let us arrange the cultural elements so that they will be suitable to the needs of the child, but if there are some which the child does not need, still get them across by hook or crook."

"The educator is like a gardener who feeds a plant to help it grow," said Chancellor Tsai. "Both society and the child must be considered. One must teach what children need and what society needs, after these needs have been determined by research."

Similarly Hu Shih remarked, "The two points of view are not mutually exclusive. Even in a set, ready-made curriculum you teach certain skills with which to develop free action."

There was no differing opinion among any of the people I interviewed.

I got little from my questions in regard to the function of the school in moral and emotional training. Everyone agreed, of course, that certain desirable attitudes should be inculcated, but apparently none of the people had given the matter much thought. President Chang Mon-lin at the National University said that the moral aspects of all subjects should be taught, rather than separate morals; and he emphasized the fact that since all motives are emotional, we should learn how to develop and direct children's emotions.

And Hu Shih said: "I doubt the value of teaching abstract things except through the concrete. We cannot avoid teaching certain attitudes, but I am opposed to utilizing children's unformed mentalities to impose dubious dogmas. We cannot avoid ethical matters, but such things as coöperation, loyalty, etc., should not be subject to direct, didactic instruction. I am an ignoramus on psychological problems, but I feel that education should aim at some form of intellectual direction of conduct, to coördinate the emotions under the guidance of intelligence. I believe in freer play of the emotions, but also in their coördination and integration. The child must see relative values and have perspective, so that he may see the consequences of his actions—their effect on others and on himself."

It is more difficult to summarize the prevalent viewpoint in China than that in Japan, because it is less uniform and less formulated. There are, nevertheless, certain characteristic attitudes among those who are most influencing China's future education.

First of all there is a universal recognition of the fact that China's weakness has been taken advantage of by foreign nations, and that if she is to achieve the place of equality in the world which is rightfully hers, she must be unified and must bring her general standard of living up to that of the rest of humanity.

Then there is the feeling of building a new society, a feeling as widespread as that in Russia, but not as specific. This society is to retain the best of the culture and wisdom of ancient China, but is to adopt the efficiency and democracy of the western world. Its outlines are to be those drawn by Sun Yat-sen; the details are to be filled in gradually as it comes into existence.

Education, therefore, has a social purpose. It is to help bring about this new society. But because the details are not yet planned, each child's individuality is to be developed as fully as possible, so that he may make his own contribution toward this general end.

Nationalism must be inculcated in the children of the land. China has lacked a sense of national cohesion. To bring about such unity some of the more extreme leaders, particularly the members of the Nationalist Party, would deify Sun Yat-sen, trying to make him hold the same place in the hearts of the Chinese as does Lenin in the hearts of the Russians, and to make his writings the social and political bible of the Chinese Republic. They are not, as yet, suc-



cessful in this more extreme effort; but there is very widespread respect for Dr. Sun and his doctrines.

Many would subordinate the individual to the nation, at least for the moment. But there are no signs of the degree of self immolation and national solidarity that exist in Japan, nor is there an attempt to bring these into existence through education. China is individualistic, and for all her desire for unity she has no craving for the Japanese extreme of nationalism.

Internationalism plays no important part in China today; in fact, current teaching rather emphasizes Chinese grievances at the hands of foreign powers. Most of China's thinkers realize that the time must come when cosmopolitanism shall replace narrow nationalism, but they feel that first China must occupy a position of equality and dignity in the world community.

The Chinese philosophy of curriculum making shows the influence of the child-centered movement, but, like all things Chinese, takes the middle path. The child's needs must be considered, of course, and he should get far more freedom to select his activities than is allowed in traditional schools; but there are facts and skills and attitudes which all the children must possess, and these should be taught whether or not it is possible to make the child feel the need for them.

I am not in a position to contrast these ideals of China's thinkers with the practice in her schools. I visited very few. In them I saw some signs of the heaven at work, but there is no question as to the wide gap that exists in China, as elsewhere, between current practice and ultimate aims.

I came away from China stimulated and hopeful. I had

the feeling of having been in a nation in the making; a nation that has not yet found itself; one which is much less sure of where it is going than is Russia, much less formed and complacent than Japan, but a nation with great depths to draw upon, with high ideals toward which it is striving, and with educational leaders conscious of their responsibility, earnest, thoughtful, and hard at work.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### INDIA—DEVELOPING THE INDIVIDUAL

GANDHI had just been released from jail when we reached India and history made itself swiftly during the next few weeks. There were the long conferences between Gandhi and the Viceroy as to the terms of a truce—strange conferences, between a simple man in a loin cloth, just out of prison, and the spokesman for the world's most powerful empire; between the unofficial representative of three hundred and sixty million unarmed subjects, powerless in a military sense, and the official representative of the world's greatest fighting machine.

The truce was agreed upon as all the world knows. Tens of thousands of political prisoners were released from jail; civil disobedience ceased; but Young India was not satisfied. It insisted that even violent advocates of freedom must be released from prison, and that Baghat Singh, who had avenged the death of the great leader, Lajpat Rai, following police lathi blows, must be saved from the gallows.

Gandhi did his best, but the British hanged Baghat Singh and there resulted anxious hours. Would the Young Indians split with Gandhi? Would the party of violence bring bloodshed?

During those hours I was on the train with Gandhi,

going to the Karachi Congress. I saw the "Red Shirts" make hostile demonstrations at stations.

"Go back, Congress Leaders!" they shouted. "Down with Gandhi, the murderer of Baghat Singh!" Yet unreasoning though they were, they attempted no personal violence. When Gandhi dismounted just before we reached Karachi, so as to avoid the multitudes, a band of "Red Shirts," anticipating his action, formed two lines through which he had to walk while they shouted their imprecations. They presented him a wreath of black flowers as a symbol of their grief over the death of Baghat Singh and their scorn of Gandhi's futility. But no one lifted a hand to harm him as he walked bareheaded and barefooted, unguarded, between them.

Within two days it was evident that the Congress was solidly with its great leader, and he was made its sole delegate to the Round Table Conference, which was to try so futilely to settle India's fate.

It was in this atmosphere of perturbation and of high hope for India's freedom that all our interviews took place—off the crowded streets of Calcutta; in the peaceful and removed tranquillity where Tagore has his school; in Benares, India's holy city on the Ganges; and in Delhi, the seething capital.

Now the Round Table Conference has failed, the truce has been called off, and most of those whom we interviewed are back again in jail.

#### THE SCIENTIST—SIR JAGADIS BOSE AND LADY BOSE

Off a busy thoroughfare where the teeming life of India swarms to and fro, with no sense of civic cleanliness, poor,



and primitive, we step through a gate in a wall and find ourselves in a different world—one of art, of philosophy, of science, and of personal dignity. Out of the small front courtyard, we go up a couple of steps into an open arched vestibule, then through an anteroom, where Lady Bose, gowned in the simplicity and beauty of a sari, steps forward with a smile of greeting. A few minutes later Sir Jagadis enters, quick, decisive, eagerly intent on giving us everything possible in a limited time.

“You must go at four-thirty, I know—my wife’s sister is expecting you to tea at her school. You mustn’t be late. Shall we go right away into the Institute? Come on then. Are you interested in art? Yes? Then come back into the room a minute. Look at this frieze. Here is the conflict between good and evil, between ignorance and truth. It is copied from the caves at Ajanta. You are going there? Good! There you see. . . .” and for fifteen minutes he explains the symbolism and beauty of the frieze which extends all around the room. “Now we must go to the Institute. We do not call it an Institute, but a Temple of Science. One must approach the search for truth in a spirit of reverence. You Westerners think that intense work is the way to find truth. But there must be quiet. There must be opportunity to get light from within. Truth is within us. After we have followed a line of thought and developed it to a conclusion, then we should put it to the test of external reality. If the thinking is right, we may test it at any point, and it will prove itself. If our experiences do not confirm it, we must shut off that whole line of thinking and start fresh. We must have the power to shut off one flow of

thought after another until we think directly in the line of truth.

"Now notice these gates we are passing through. I had them brought from a temple in North India. That,"—he sees our rapt gaze at a remarkable brass bas relief, over a lotus pool in the "Temple" courtyard,—“is woman bearing the torch of inspiration. The real thinkers of India give woman the highest place. She alone can light the Temple.”

We go through some exquisitely carved wooden doors into a cool bare hall, or foyer, with glass encased instruments lining the walls. "The only ornaments here are the instruments designed and built in these laboratories. Some are so sensitive that they will measure the pulsation of a single cell. They will magnify a motion ten million times. Some European scientists say that is impossible, because no one could manipulate such an instrument—the tremor of one's hand would be so magnified. That is true of western hands—your hands you cannot hold steady. But we have learned to hold our hands quiet." He illustrates—his thumb and finger, pressed together as if holding a delicate instrument, are extended before us, motionless. No sign of his nearly seventy years of age here.

He leads us into the lecture room, with acoustics so perfect that fifteen hundred people can hear one who uses an ordinary speaking voice. One of his assistants performs his well-known experiment showing the sensitiveness of a plant to a slight electric shock, the plant's reactions being enormously magnified by a tiny mirror ingeniously attached to it, reflecting a beam of light on a screen.

"This room is used only when we have some new discovery to announce to the world," Dr. Bose says. "At all

other times it is dark. That darkness is a continual reproach and challenge to us. It does not permit us to rest content with the recollection of past achievements."

Then we are in the spacious garden, surrounded by the cool, soft-colored stucco arcades of the laboratories, shops, and students' quarters. A very tall and stately white crane, with a patch of bright red at the back of its head, steps with dignified grace across the lawn. Hundreds of birds sing, whistle and chatter in the trees and shrubs. At the end of the garden nearest us a roofed platform is built on a tree, about eight feet above the ground. Vines climb up the supports. "The students may sit there overlooking the garden, with nature before them, and think in peace."

Not far from the platform, in the bright sunlight, there is a small table. On it is a glass bottle, filled with water, and containing a spray of green leaves. A glass tube, shaped like an S on its side, is inserted in the bottle's cork. A drop of mercury is in the downward loop, and just above it is a wire. "As the plant eats, it releases oxygen," Dr. Bose explains. "The bubble of oxygen, forcing its way through the tube, raises the drop of mercury just far enough to touch the wire above. That completes an electric circuit and rings a bell. The same impulse makes the pen rise and fall, and trace a record of the plant's rate of eating. You may say that each time the bell rings the plant has had a gulp of food. Now watch it while I cut off the sunlight with this box. The bell doesn't ring; the pen doesn't write; for the plant has stopped eating." A minute later he removes the shadowing box. Instantly the bell rings, and as we walk away it continues at short intervals its rhythmic, informative tinkle.

We enter a laboratory and see the "heart-beat" of a leaflet graphically recorded by a fascinating and delicate instrument with a fine filament of silk carrying the minute throbs to a lever of spun glass. A square plate of smoked glass is mechanically moved forward and back at measured intervals, just touching the inturned tip of the glass lever, then leaving it unimpeded. These touches make a dotted record, on the plate, of the slow pulse of the plant—a pulse that can be quickened by stimulants that quicken human heart-beats, and slowed down—or killed—by chloroform. "All life is one," says Dr. Bose.

"From these things you can see something of my ideas on education," he says, as we reluctantly turn toward the gate. And as we try afterwards to formulate them, this seems to be at least a part of his philosophy: All life is one. Therefore the truth must be within you. But the truth within you and the truth outside are the same. So if you are really thinking correctly, your thinking will be confirmed by objective experiments. You must learn to control your mind and body. You must give yourself silence for thought. You must have beauty in your life, for beauty and truth are both aspects of the one life. You must surround yourself with the beauty of nature—yet you must keep in touch with the world—that is why the Temple of Science is in the heart of the city. Yet in the midst of the rush of practical life there must be in your own self such a garden as this, for beauty, contemplation, and the search for truth.

The next morning we spent with Lady Bose. She has a girls' school and is one of India's leaders in the field of women's education. She served us cool tangerine juice in orange-colored glass cups, poured from an orange-colored



pitcher. "You should not talk to me," she said. "I cannot speak for India. See Tagore, and Gandhi—they can speak for the nation. I can only give my own ideas.

"You want to know what they are? First of all, to make Indian women good citizens. They are competent in their homes, but do not know the world outside. In their homes they keep everything spotlessly clean, but they may throw their garbage into the street. They have not awakened to making their city clean and beautiful like their homes.

"I would take them out into the city and show them the world and make them feel a responsibility for the nation's welfare. When I first went to America in about 1900 I was much impressed with what your American women were doing—far more than the English women. They were seeing that there was good milk for their babies; they were interested in the beautifying of their city. It is such an extension of the home outward to citizenship that I would give our girls. Yet they must not lose those things with which they have been so richly endowed in the past. We want not to replace these but to extend them."

"Do you want to create a specific new kind of society through education?" I asked, explaining a little the other alternatives.

"I think some of our Nationalist leaders would like to do as Russia and Italy are doing. But I feel rather like those Germans you describe, who would try to develop freely each child, letting the next generation create its own society."

The answer to my next question surprised me a little. "In India to-day," she said, "the individual should subordinate the dictates of his own conscience to those of the

nation as represented by the Congress party. Even those who do not belong to the party must now work with it if we are to achieve national unity. Is it not so? If each one does as he thinks best, there can be no party discipline, and without that we cannot achieve independence and unified action. In a nation like Japan which has solidarity and compactness, they could well afford to allow individuals to obey their conscience when it conflicts with the mandates of the state. But India is a subject nation and is in an entirely different situation."

"In developing this strong national consciousness," I inquired, "do you feel that internationalism, the feeling of India's responsibility toward other countries in the world, should not be stressed?"

"No—that is too important. We must not sacrifice this greater international ideal for the more limited one. India has always had an international spirit. She opened her arms to the Parsees when they were driven out of Persia. And she welcomed the early English traders—sometimes we have been *too* internationally minded! Yet I would never give up this virtue—internationalism and nationalism must be developed hand in hand."

Questioned about the objective truthfulness of biography and history teaching, she said, "To the young children I should teach only the better side of the nation's heroes—they must develop reverence, don't you think? And they haven't the power to discriminate between relevant and irrelevant, important and unimportant facts. But when they get older they should have the whole truth.

"In history we should teach both sides of every question—yes, even the English and Indian sides of British domi-

nation of India. But now the textbooks teach only the English side; so the teacher must give the Indian side to counterbalance it. I remember when I was a young girl and read those English texts. I wanted to tear out the pages and crumple them up. I didn't know what the true facts were, but I knew very well that what was in the texts was false."

"How freely should children discuss current problems?" I asked.

"Quite freely. If we don't allow free discussion in school, the children will discuss behind our backs anyway, and without our guidance and help. Any subject they wish to discuss is better discussed in school than out."

The questions I asked about the content of the curriculum she would not try to answer. "Those things are all dictated by the government. Even in my school and my sister's, where we have more freedom of action than in most places, the course is fixed by government requirements. So I have not given enough thought to the questions of curriculum to be able to answer you."

This we found to be a rather prevalent attitude in India. The reasons became clearer a few days later when we talked with Madam Sarojini Naidu.

#### THE PHILOSOPHER—RADHAKRISHNAN

What Hu Shih is to China, Radhakrishnan is to India—the young, brilliant, scholarly philosopher of the present day, well grounded both in the modern thought of the western world and the profundity of his own ancient civilization.

He is the head of the department of philosophy at the University of Calcutta and has lectured in American and

European universities. Yet he lives with an utter disregard of that beauty of external surroundings which characterizes the homes of Dr. and Mrs. Bose and Rabindranath Tagore. He received us in his house in a narrow bare room, looking out through barred windows on a narrow side lane. The marred plaster walls were hung with calendars and pictures of Nationalist leaders. Yet one soon forgot this lack of beauty in the brilliance and fire of the man.

"We in India have had no chance to develop a system of education according to our own ideas. We have had to prepare people to participate in an English-run country. The English have considered themselves our spiritual fathers, have told us that we were out of date, and asked us to accept their culture. Were we to agree, it would mean a weak imitation of the West. But we are still alive and are producing a Bose, a Tagore, and a Gandhi, even if we have been crushed. Such men are natural products of India.

"Our education must, therefore, be on national lines, developing our own culture and stressing, for the moment, Indian nationalism.

"This stress on nationalism is a temporary result of our political situation and will disappear when we attain freedom. Right now, however, it is so important that the individual should be subordinated to the state, following Gandhi even against one's own personal principles. But this is an abnormal condition—a state of war—and is contrary to our real beliefs. A free Indian government will not invade the private lives of the people, and the right of the conscientious objector—his right to freedom of action—will be respected.

"Similarly, our present stress on nationalism, rather



than on our common humanity, is a temporary phenomenon. We cannot have unity among the nations of the world unless each has substantial freedom and national strength and individuality. With the achievement of these we can widen our horizon to embrace a world culture.

"India's great heroes, you must remember, are not political and military leaders whose lives would tend to inspire national bigotry. Instead of a Napoleon we revere men like Buddha, Asoka, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, and Gandhi—we live for humanity and produce this type of man in every generation. We revere the saint, not the politician.

"Let us teach our history accurately in all nations of the world. Let each nation stop singing its own virtues and flaunting the vices of others. Let us develop a universal literature, art, and culture—these things know no national bounds. Shakespeare does not belong to Britain alone, nor Buddha to India. Such men belong to the whole world.

"As to freedom of discussion in schools, this should depend on the children's age. Twelve- and thirteen-year-old boys and girls are too immature and inexperienced to judge questions which are troubling their elders. They should get accepted knowledge which they can understand. But let the older students know about differences of opinion and discuss problems freely. And let the teacher give his own opinion frankly, provided he shows where other opinions differ.

"I believe there should be a wide and elastic curriculum to give all children a general training which will fit them for the needs of life. Then, as we learn the children's aptitudes, let the curriculum be differentiated to fit these.

"Besides this intellectual training the schools must give

moral training through such things as history, literature, poetry. As homes break up and churches dwindle, as industrial society advances, the need for this moral training grows increasingly great.

“The aim of education is neither national efficiency nor world solidarity, but making the individual feel that he has within himself something deeper than intellect—call it spirit if you like, or, with Emerson, the oversoul. The individual must have scope for solitude and the leisure necessary to find that life is measured by spiritual sincerity. Blake has said, ‘No man can be a Christian unless he is an artist.’

“We must train our youth to realize how little it profiteth a man to gain the world and lose his own soul. We must give them that courage of their convictions which will make them true to themselves and above conventions.

“Do you know that definition of a gentleman—‘One who gives secret satisfaction to vice with the external appearance of virtue’? That perverted ideal is a product of a false education. Let us rather train our boys and girls to be true even if they have to suffer for it—like Christ or Gandhi. Each man must learn to walk by himself with no one at his side.

“Initiation into the higher life of the spirit is the essence of education.”

#### THE POET—RABINDRANATH TAGORE

It is four-thirty on a cool March morning in Bengal. A bell is sounded long and insistently, dying down, hesitating, then continuing with renewed vigor. Finally it stops, but the awakened birds—innumerable they seem—whistle,

chirp, and chatter in a confusion of indignation and dutiful greeting of the dawn they think must be near.

I sit up in bed, then climb out from the overhanging mosquito netting and step through the open door onto the veranda-like balcony. Scorpio hangs high before me in the south, a waning moon, crescent shaped, shines between Antares and the gleaming morning star. The birds settle down for a last half-hour's nap. The utter silence is scarcely broken by the meditative rhythm of a solitary cricket.

Some lines of Tagore's run through my mind. "Now it is time to sit quiet, face to face with Thee, and to sing dedication of life, in this silent and overflowing leisure." And here, at the poet's school, hidden from me by a faintly moonlit grove, all the students, too, are meditating. It is truly "Santiniketan"—the abode of peace.

Slowly the stars begin to pale, and almost imperceptibly the east becomes grayly luminous, silhouetting the delicate tracery of a nearby tree.

Not disciplined to such early rising, as are Tagore's students, I slip back into bed. But I am not allowed to sleep long. First a water boy, then a man announcing "tea," then the manager of the guest house himself, all insist on my arising. "You want to see the work of the school," the manager remonstrates. "The Reverend Tucker will be here at seven-fifteen to show you around. And you must have your breakfast first."

Mr. Tucker arrives quite promptly—an American wearing Indian garments of khaddar (the hand-spun, hand-woven material urged by Gandhi on all his followers). He is a "reformed missionary," now a teacher in Tagore's school.

We visit the classes. Each is a little group of students under a tree with a teacher. Then we go to the house the junior boys are completing. They are hard at work carrying bricks, laying walks, mixing mortar. The girls will do the furnishing and decorating when the structure is finished, we are told. We think how enthusiastic Dr. Kilpatrick would be about the project.

We go through the library with its collection of ancient manuscripts and see a lama from Tibet copying long-lost Buddhist writings while an Indian scholar translates them from Tibetan into Sanskrit. In another building—charmingly and effectively designed for its purpose—the artist Nandalal Bose is at work, and in little open rooms his students, singly or in groups, are drawing and painting. Going out, we find some of them in the junior boys' dormitory, painting a frieze.

We are too late to witness the rehearsal of the festival of music and dancing that is to be given in Calcutta a few days hence. Tagore himself has written the songs and takes the central part. There are two or three such festivals every year.

Mr. Tucker now takes us in the school bus to a nearby village where Tagore's agricultural reconstruction project is being carried on. The poet's son is normally in charge, but owing to a breakdown, he has been replaced for the present by a Mr. Ali, whom we had met at the University of Chicago a year ago, after he completed his training at Cornell. There are experiments going on in dry farming and in sericulture—Bengal has never raised silkworms. There are a tannery, a woodworking shop, a shop for weaving and dyeing—all attended by both children and adults



from the village. "The Indian farmer can only work his farm a few months each year," we are told. "By dry farming, he can use more of the year profitably. By cottage industries—spinning, weaving, woodwork, leather work—he can make his time count productively during non-farming periods."

A messenger arrives with a note. "Dr. Tagore will see you in his house at one-thirty," it reads. We return to the guest house for lunch before the interview.

The poet's house is large, open, cool. It is completely—but not too fully—furnished with the choicest work of Indian artists and craftsmen. We wait in the pleasantly spacious living room.

Tagore enters. He leans a little on a staff, and wears a dignified loose robe. His soft hair, shoulder-long, and his beard falling from his fine-featured Aryan face, give him an appearance of patriarchal beauty. I understand at once the comment made by a friend of mine when she first saw the poet: "All my life I have heard of an 'illuminated face,' and wondered just what it meant. Now I have seen one."

Each question we ask elicits from him a flow of easy discourse, thoughtful and interesting.

"Our education in India is not indigenous; therefore we gather merely information from our school books, and do not have the prospect of putting it into practice.

"You know that in India we believe that we should have perfect harmony with all existence. Our religion has the ideas of the Upanishads for its foundation. I feel that the central ideal is that we find our liberation through complete harmony with all things. Of course, Christianity has its ideal, though it is more human than cosmic. In our

writings we talk about the liberation of the self from the ego. . . . One has to cultivate sympathy with all creation. . . .

“My object in choosing this particular place for my school was that here students should have the best communion with the surrounding nature.

“We have our festivals, celebrating in music and dance the different seasons of the year. They typify our desire to be in perfect harmony with nature. We hope that through this harmony our students may never think of this world as mechanical, but may realize that only through their unity with it they may get rid of their ego.

“I want them to realize that this world is not an alien world but one made for spiritual purposes.

“In most of India students are made to study certain subjects which are abstract and deal mainly with European character and needs. They forget that they have the different problems of their own country. They know only the western economics and social conditions which cannot be applied to their country.

“I am struggling against the wretched conditions of education which we have. My object is to free the students from all the traditional shackles through the atmosphere we have developed in this school. We have great and spiritual scholars and artists on our staff—not merely teachers but creative artists. The students are allowed to see all these creative works going on around them. Although they may not attach themselves to any department, they cannot resist such influences.

“An important part of our work is our rural reconstruction. The villages of India have gone into a state of decay.

We have been trying here to bring back the stream of life into the dry river bed. We try to bring back to the villages their rural customs and culture.

"Another thing to keep in mind is our girls. Formerly we had only the daughters and sisters of our teachers at Santiniketan. This was the only available place for them to get their education. They were brought up with the boys as brothers and sisters. Now the whole school is co-educational.

"I am looking forward to the time when I shall be able to found a woman's institution. Our boys are compelled for economic reasons to go through the regular system of state examinations, which determine much of our curriculum. Our women are still unrestricted and we may be able to evolve for them a more perfect, less trammelled education.

"To-day the western world dominates with science. When I am in Europe I realize that you emphasize material needs. But one thing which has struck me is the unhappiness of your people everywhere. It is because they are trying to break down the things which are most fundamental to them. Harmony is neglected. The inner soul is utterly neglected. The people are one-sided. They think that mere mechanical adjustments will make them happy. They do not realize that a change of mind is necessary. They neglect the harvest of the inner life.

"On the other hand, if I had the authority to build up education in India, I should say we must get the truth of science. In India we have a craving for spiritual realization which without science leads to superstition. The best kind of education would be where the East and West could meet."

As we walk back to the guest house through the quiet fields we are pervaded with the spirituality and peace which are the soul of the East.

#### THE MAN OF RELIGION—BHAGAVAN DAS

We got a savor of the old India of the Vedas when we called on Bhagavan Das in Benares. That morning we had risen early and rowed down the Ganges. We had watched men and women bathing in the sacred river or sitting on the banks facing the rising sun, lost in meditation. We had heard them quietly chanting ancient Sanskrit mantrams as their ancestors had done in this very spot for thousands of years. And we had gone from the Ganges to a temple of Kali and seen how ignorance and superstition—and filth and sordidness—can encrust a beautiful religion. Then we entered the peace and beauty of an Indian garden and sat listening to Bhagavan Das expounding the wisdom of the ancients.

He was simple in his manner, with eyes that twinkled or shone with fervor or rested in peaceful contemplation as he talked. With his full gray beard, his tall and stately bearing, and in flowing garments, he was a perfect picture of a spiritual sage.

"I have retired from the world and its affairs now," he said. "I am over sixty and it is time that I devoted myself to thought and preparation for the other world. Don't you agree?"

"Your question as to the aims of education is an important one. Education is the root and civilization is the fruit.

"Do you know Dr. Kilpatrick? He visited me here. He said, 'Tell me what kind of civilization you want and I'll



tell you what kind of education to give.' That is just the idea of our old tradition. Dr. Kilpatrick did not know what kind of civilization one should strive for, but we in India have our answer and have had it for thousands of years. We want a civilization that will give the highest possible happiness in this world and in other worlds. We must organize society and organize individual life to secure this *summum bonum*. The social organization is effected by recognizing four types of human beings: (1) the man of knowledge—science, learning, law, fine arts, and so on; (2) the man of action—executives and administrators; (3) the man of desire—merchants, wealth gatherers, accumulators; and (4) the unskilled man or man of little skill with an undifferentiated mind—the laborers of the world.

"The recognition of these four types was the basis of caste. But when caste became hereditary instead of being based on a study of each individual's personal aptitudes, it degenerated from the greatest blessing to the greatest curse.

"Let us in our education seek to find to which one of these types each individual belongs and then educate him to the most effective possible functioning within his own category.

"You ask whether education should set out to make society in a specific form as Russia is doing or whether I believe more in the Hamburg idea of individual freedom. I believe in the middle course. We must not overdo individualism lest we destroy the corporate life of society, yet while fitting the individual into society, we must preserve individual differences.

"Let us avoid extremism; neither the individual nor the state can be absolute. And let us leave room for the consci-

entious objector—civil power must be subordinate to spiritual power. Let each individual take for his ideal, 'Know yourself, be yourself.' On the other hand, one may quite conscientiously act one way under one set of circumstances and differently under others. Conscience and reason are not two different things. It is often because people cannot reason out a situation that they take refuge in what they call conscience."

THE STATESMEN—GANDHI AND HIS  
ASSOCIATES

Gandhi, the little man of the great soul, was staying at Dr. Ansari's house near the edge of Delhi, just inside the old wall. We went out there at eight o'clock on the first morning we were in Delhi, knowing he had arrived the night before. It seemed heartless to try to see him, considering the terrible responsibilities he carried. We were told that our only hope was to arrive early and often and not to give up till we saw him.

Large wooden gates barred the entrance to the driveway. We were kept out in the road while a "volunteer" took our card back to the house—it was at least three hundred feet back from the road with an oblong sunken lawn and garden stretching from the highway to the columned veranda. The driveway entered along one side of this garden and left on the other side, widening into a terrace as it turned to pass between garden and house. The volunteer returned and said that Gandhi had gone out—he was having a conference with a Maharajah; but we might come in and wait. He led us around to an encampment on one side

of the garden, and there we sat under a canopy for three hours.

In the tents around us were Gandhi's chiefs—Jawaharlal Nehru among others. Volunteers were coming and going with sheafs of telegrams. Men were meeting inside and outside the tents with warm embraces—many had just been released from jail; all shared in the common fight. The scenes were often touching in the joyous emotion of the greetings. Up the driveway came an unending procession of people—some on foot, some in tongas (carts in which people sit back to back under a canopy), some in Fords and Austins, some in Cadillacs and Lincolns and Rolls Royces. These last were usually Maharajahs in gorgeous turbans with brightly turbaned retainers. There were men in fezzes; there were women in purdah, peeking through the netted section of the all-enveloping white hood, or being borne in a palanquin slung from a pole carried on the shoulders of two coolies. There were free-moving women with their faces uncovered, and wearing the white khaddar, or Gandhi cloth, with a border stamped in delicate designs. All were coming and going on some business connected with Gandhi or his cohorts.

In the pavilion beside us sat three women talking earnestly in Hindi. When one had left, another turned to us and said: "She has given two sons to the cause. And her nephew, Baghat Singh, is about to be hanged. She is hoping Gandhi can do something to stay the execution."

A few minutes later we saw Gandhi himself driven up to the house in a large car. He was hailed by all whom he passed, but his approach was too swift and unannounced for much of a crowd to gather. We saw his clipped head,

slightly stooping shoulders, and thin, khaddar-wrapped body as he stepped out from the car with one or two others, exchanged a word or two with people near by, and entered the house.

Again we sent in our card. A volunteer came out and reported that Gandhi was in conference with some leaders of the Mohammedans, and that it would be an hour or more before the card could be given to him. "Why don't you come at his worship time?" he asked. "May we?" I queried. "Surely. That is open to anyone. You may not be able to speak to him, but you will see him."

We arrived early in the evening—about six-thirty. Already many white-clad men were sitting in the sunken garden facing the house, and in front of them, separated by twenty or thirty feet of lawn, sat the women, looking upward at the terrace where the worship would be held. "Won't you come up and sit down near the house?" one of the volunteers asked. "It is some time before the worship will begin." So we walked up toward the veranda, raised only a step or two above the ground, and extending most of the length of the house. The house faced west, so Gandhi would be facing the twilight sky when he sat on the terrace for worship. To the north was a large open veranda and, as we were to learn later, there was another pillared veranda on the east, looking down over fields to the sacred Jumna River.

As we approached the veranda we espied Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. "Oh, you are the one who telephoned me this afternoon?" she asked. She looked after us with business-like efficiency, having chairs placed on the terrace beside the spot where the Mahatma would be sitting, introducing us



to various people around, then saying: "Can't you Americans sing one of your hymns for Gandhiji? His favorite is 'Lead Kindly Light.' He would appreciate it so much!" We were a bit embarrassed by the request, being neither singers nor church-goers. But we agreed to do what we could. A group of American tourists from the *Belgenland* had just arrived; so we enlisted their help.

There was an expectant stir, and Mahatma Gandhi, walking with Mrs. Naidu and followed by Mrs. Gandhi, Miss Slade and a group of men, came around from the north terrace of the house. People crowded around him, but he proceeded forward quietly until Mrs. Naidu called me forward and introduced me. "The Americans are going to sing a hymn for you," she said. He shook hands with a gentle pressure, and smiled in childlike pleasure: "I am so glad!"

We sang the hymn, and I was struck by its appropriateness. Not only was the dusk an encircling gloom, but Gandhi had been in one all day: selfish Rajahs to be won over from independent autocracy; Mohammedans to be disarmed of their suspicion and brought into unity with Hindus; young Indians to be dissuaded from force or the rejection of the truce terms with the Viceroy; the Viceroy to be plead with for greater effectiveness of his orders for the release of prisoners and for the stay of execution for Baghat Singh and his associates. The day had been full of gloomy forebodings and anxious conferences. But Gandhi was quiet, smiling, relaxed, ready for his evening communion with God, open to the leading of the kindly light.

He and those with him had stood still while we sang, but they now moved forward to the front of the terrace and

sat cross-legged on the ground. The stars were beginning to shine in the twilight sky. There was just enough light to show the worshiping forms. The worship was very simple, like everything that has to do with Gandhi—a few Sanskrit chants and hymns; a moment of silence. Then he rose and, followed by the others, went quietly into the house.

I sought out his secretary, Mr. Desai, and asked when I could have a few minutes of conference. "He's extremely busy, as you know," he said. "But perhaps if you come very early Sunday morning before he takes his walk, you can see him. Come before seven and take your chance."

There was no hour of the night or day that I would not come on the chance of a talk with the Mahatma. Already I was under the spell of his personal charm and greatness.

While waiting for Sunday to arrive I talked with other Nationalist leaders—Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit Malaviya, Madam Sarojini Naidu, Rajah Gopal Chariar.

Jawaharlal Nehru had moved from his tent in Dr. Ansari's yard and was staying in Burla House, the beautiful and spacious home of a wealthy Nationalist in New Delhi. He was just up after an attack of influenza—young, good looking, full of fire, unsparing of himself.

"I believe in a socialistic state," he said, "and should like to develop education toward that goal. At present we must stress nationalism—a country under foreign domination is bound to be nationalistic. Yet I believe that in really fundamental matters, each individual should stand by his own personal ideals. The test of such conscientious convictions is willingness to suffer for them.

“Under present conditions, I should avoid internationalism of the pacifist type, for it might result in India’s sitting by and doing nothing toward her own independence. But I should try to avoid the narrow nationalism common to a country in the midst of a national struggle and to stress a broad, international outlook.

“You ask how objective I would have the teaching of biography and history. Let us be as objectively truthful as possible. But when we are teaching a young child the life of a hero, let us stress those parts of his character which will be most helpful.

“Students must develop the faculty of deciding questions for themselves. Therefore let them discuss quite freely any subjects which interest them, while we furnish them unbiased facts on which to base their conclusions.”

At this point Pandit Malaviya entered. He is the venerable president of the Hindu University in Benares. He is scholarly, quiet, yet zealous in the cause of India. “We are not free to think as free men and to provide for the needs of our country,” he said. “But my own ideal would be to develop each individual fully along his own lines. I believe that the hope of mankind lies in such education. No two men are cast in the same mold. Let each generate ideas which may be used for the general benefit of mankind.”

Pandit Malaviya’s statement that the Indians are not free to think as free people was echoed by many others. Yet I found the British with whom I talked quite unsympathetic toward this viewpoint. “Education is a transferred subject,” they said. “All the educational officers are Indians. Any limitations in the Indian educational system are due to their own lack of foresight and ability.”

One young Englishman was expressing this viewpoint to me later on Dr. Ansari's veranda when Madam Naidu came out. "You say we are free," she exclaimed. "Can our Indian officials dismiss or appoint any of the higher educational officers without the consent of the Council? Don't you know that every important question of policy must be submitted to the Council? Do you suppose for one moment that if we wished to introduce Hindi instead of English, as the language of instruction in our schools, for example, we would be free to do so? You know well that the Council is made up principally of Englishmen and that the English viewpoint prevails in all important matters. Our freedom is limited to the administration of minor matters of detail. We have no opportunity to remake Indian education according to our own view of India's needs!"

She then turned to me and answered my questions, introducing Rajah Gopal Chariar in the midst of the interview.

"First of all we must break down the wrong educational systems which we now have," said Mrs. Naidu. "We must translate the real meaning of the word education. This foreign education which we have has produced hybrids in India. Let education spring from the roots of national life. Let it be born out of the circumstances of our environment. We must have one language—Hindi—for all our people. We must develop cultural things to fit Indian life. We must assimilate knowledge into our own culture. Let education be an expression of national life rather than an attempt to bring about a special form of society.

"I hate nationalism in any country. There is no justi-



fication for it in a country that is free. It is the disease of a country that is struggling for freedom.

"Internationalism is the trend of modern life. Any nation that wants to live isolated and to gloat and wallow in its own nationalism is a plague spot and should be blotted out. But before we can have internationalism, we must have independence—independence of life is the first law of modern civilization.

"History in India has been taught from the standpoint of British nationalism for the past two generations. It should be taught objectively, giving both sides of every question. In teaching the lives of heroes we should not over-idealize them. They should be made real persons but we should preserve historical perspective. We do not want realism but reality. And we want a reverence for greatness that is absolutely in keeping with a critical estimate of the person.

"In making a curriculum let us draw a broad, general map of the needs of society and fill out the details with the child's own needs. There must be a certain amount of conformity, but I feel that America overstandardizes. It always wants to fit the child's great soul into its theory of education and society.

"The development of the child's emotional life is an important duty of education. In India our whole ideal is the disciplining of the mind and balancing of the emotional and mental life."

Rajah Gopal then added, "We must fit the child into the social program of the nation and get rid of caste differences. Our children must learn to alleviate the material and moral difficulties of those placed in unfortunate posi-

tions. They must learn to respect and understand each other's faiths and to live harmoniously with people of different religions. Without losing their individual freedom to think and act they must be willing to sacrifice comfort and happiness for their country and to realize that self is less than the nation.

"Patriotism is a very inferior virtue, but we must encourage it until we attain equality with other nations.

"To the Hindu, patriotism is a new thing because his vision has always embraced all mankind. Throughout the scripture and philosophy of India, the emphasis has been not on a limited group but on a universal humanity."

#### G A N D H I

The sun was just rising that Sunday morning, and shining with dazzling brilliance low in the east. The Jumna wound gleaming through flat fields off toward the horizon. Dr. Ansari's home, yellow-buff and white, was immersed in the sunlight. The colonnaded veranda was no protection from the horizontal rays which shone fully upon the white cushion and wrap of khaddar cloth placed against the wall and framed centrally behind the simple Doric columns. There was a hushed stir in the atmosphere, a stir of expectancy, as Gandhi's secretary, his English disciple (Miss Slade), and various congress leaders moved in and out through the open door near the cushion, which was the Mahatma's simple throne. All were dressed in the white homespun khaddar.

"He worked until one this morning," one of the men said to us, "and then was up at four-thirty for prayers. He

slept a little between five-thirty and six-thirty. He'll be here in a moment."

Just then Gandhi, swathed in white khaddar against the early morning coolness, utterly unassuming, quiet, unstrained, stepped out on to the veranda, shook hands with each of us in a greeting of welcome, and said, "Can you squat?"

He "squatted" on his cushion and we made an American attempt at squatting in a quarter circle toward his right. I explained very briefly my purpose and asked, "What is your goal in education when India obtains self-rule?"

"Character building," he answered. "I would try to develop courage, strength, virtue, the ability to forget oneself in working toward great aims.

"This is more important than literacy; academic learning is only a means to this greater end. That is why India's great lack of literacy, deplorable as it is, does not appall me nor make me feel that India is unfit for self-rule."

"Would you try to bring about any specific kind of social organization through education?" I asked.

"I should feel that if we succeed in building the character of the individual, society will take care of itself. I would be quite willing to trust the organization of society to individuals so developed."

"In developing the new national spirit in India would you like to make patriotic feelings so strong that duty to one's country would be a higher good than obeying one's personal conscience?"

"I hope that will never be. One's own inner convictions come first always. But in a nation where character is devel-

oped among all individuals, there can be no conflict between the dictates of one's own conscience and those of the state."

"In the attempt to build character would you present biographical and historical material in such a way as to inculcate certain ideals and attitudes, or would you hold to objective reality and historical accuracy?"

"You mean would I follow the English or American example?" he chuckled. "I hope not. The truth must come first always."

"In developing the national spirit in India to-day would you subordinate internationalism?"

"I hope we will never use our nationalism to exploit other nations, but that our nationalism is only a prelude to internationalism."

I hadn't the heart to prolong the interview, knowing that the fate of India hung upon this man's leadership during the next few days. We rose and thanked him. He shook hands all around again with an engaging smile and stepped back into the house.

We went out on the terrace at the north where a number of people had gathered, and stood there a moment or two until Gandhiji and three or four others came out. He walked swiftly to the west front of the house, where two cars were drawn up. Hundreds of people were in the gardens and on the driveway, although it was barely seven in the morning, waiting to catch a glimpse of "the greatest man in the world." The volunteers, in khaki shorts and shirts and khaki-colored Gandhi caps, tried in vain to hold the crowd back. It surged forward in silent eagerness and only Gandhi's swift agility enabled him to get into the car



before the crowd had pressed close around it. The car had literally to push its way through the people to drive to some unannounced point in the country. There the Mahatma would be free from crowds and could leave the car to commune with nature and his God—between sentences, for the solitude was not to be complete; another car followed his, bearing the person with whom he was to have the next interview, while he walked!

Absorbed as India is in her great struggle for independence, spiritual development of each individual is still her first concern. It is not to be an ascetic spirituality, divorced from the world, but a practical harmonizing of the individual with his environment, an awakening of his deeper powers of courage, selflessness and the search for truth.

Nationalism there must be—temporarily—but it is only to be for the sake of giving India a place of freedom and equality among the nations of the world, a chance to develop untrammelled her own cultural life and ideals. For the moment some would subordinate even personal conscience to this new nationalism, but none would do so ultimately. The individual must be free to follow his own inner light—the only kind of nation worth preserving is one made up of such individuals.

With this aim of individual freedom it is natural that everyone insists upon the right of the child to unbiased facts when he is studying history and biography, and to freedom of discussion on all questions.

The ancient culture of India is to be the soil in which a new life, lighted by western science, may grow. The exact

form or direction of this growth is not to be determined to-day, but rather by the generation which shall receive a freer and more vital education.

There is universal dissatisfaction with the present formal Europeanized education which fits people, at best, for government clerkships. In building a curriculum India's leaders would take a middle course, organizing the program of the schools in terms of India's needs without too much restriction on children's spontaneous interests and activities. The question of how such a curriculum is to be organized has not, however, been clearly thought out by the people of India. They have been too much absorbed in their political problems and have felt too impotent in the matter of making fundamental changes. Their ultimate educational goal they see with clear vision, but they have not yet begun to consider the exact means of achieving it.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE ARAB NATIONS

#### IRAQ

UR of the Chaldees lay lost to the world for two millennia. Now the archeologist's spade is unearthing its ancient treasures and revealing culture on culture, from the first crude scrapers made of flint, to the fine art of the goldsmith—work nearly five thousand years old, yet exquisitely skillful and beautiful.

Mounds mark the once great Babylon. Within them are the fundamentals of the hanging gardens of old, and walls with bas-reliefs in brick. Sore-eyed Arab boys rove among them, gathering up old coins and bits of clay modeled by artists dead long before Christ.

Alone on the desert stands the slowly falling Ctesiphon, greatest brick arch ever built by man, once the reception hall of kings, now a tragic reminder of pre-Moslem days of Persian splendor on the Tigris.

A mosque and a crumbling minaret alone survive the Baghdad of Haroun-al-Raschid with its teeming two millions of people, its wealth, its science, its art and literature.

To-day marsh Arabs live in reed huts, plant date palms, and tend water buffaloes on the lower Tigris and Euphrates. Desert Arabs tend their flocks and pitch their black hair tents where once mighty kings held sway; and in Baghdad,

beauty and squalor, the new and the old, East and West, mingle and jostle each other confusedly.

Invasion after invasion destroyed the ancient irrigation works and dykes—now they are only long low ridges. Centuries of Turkish misrule bled the country dry, until it became Turkey's Siberia—a place of exile.

Then came the World War and King Hussein, fighting with Lawrence of Arabia, dreamed of a new Arab empire that would recapture the greatness of the past. He was encouraged in his dream until the victory was won. Then the Arab lands were divided into many parts—Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Hejaz, Transjordan, Yemen, and others. And over Iraq rules King Hussein's son, Faisal, king of the Land of the Chaldees, king of what once was Babylonia, kind in the capital of Haroun-al-Raschid, but king of illiterate, scattered, poverty stricken, disease ridden tribes, a sub-king bound to consult his Britannic Majesty on all important matters, international and financial.

We visited King Faisal on his farm, and had tea with him on the broad veranda of his villa, overlooking the brown, smooth-flowing river.

"We have been like monkeys, aping European education," he said. He is a kingly looking man, courtly in his manners, but an easy and democratic host. He has a ready humor, and a twinkle in his eye. He himself "apes" Europe in his dress, wearing a very modish suit of English cut and excellent material.

"We need an indigenous education," he went on, "one based on the requirements of Iraq, not on the traditions of Europe or America. To develop such an education and to develop the country we must have leaders. Now we are



obliged to call on foreigners for help and advice—we haven't enough trained Iraqi to take over this work.

"If I had my way, we would close half the schools that are already open, instead of opening more, until we have trained the necessary leaders for our country—doctors, engineers, agriculturalists, educators. But these must be leaders who will go out into the country and show the people how to live and work effectively—not office seekers, interested in their own soft jobs. We are graduating a host of office seekers from our schools to-day, people better fitted for clerkships than for leading their country. Even the teachers all want city jobs—they don't want to go out into the country where the real need is.

"Our tendency has been to try to get the students into the schools first, and then to decide what to do with them. But we do not want the present kind of academic, European education. Our people must learn to live their lives more efficiently, to be better farmers and craftsmen. Iraq has more need for strong right arms than for savants!"

There was universal agreement among all the Iraqi to whom we talked that one of the principal aims—many would say the principal aim—of education must be to develop an Arab nationalism. "We must bring about a sense of solidarity with all the Arab nations if Arab culture and Arab independence are to survive," they said. "There must be unity within Iraq and between Iraq and the other Arab states. It is the only hope of resisting aggression, partition, and exploitation on the part of European powers."

Most of them—perhaps all—feel that the teaching of history should be made to serve this end. They would be willing to select their facts and base their emphasis on this

general purpose. But they believe that even purely objective history will show that there is an Arab culture, and that the boundaries between the Arab countries are purely artificial, made by Europeans.

This Arab culture was usually considered an essential element in bringing about the unity of Iraq and a sense of solidarity with the kindred countries. However, one deputy to whom we talked, a man influential in government matters, said: "I would, if it were possible, throw out all the old and build a new state, essentially communistic (although not in the exact pattern of Lenin's communism), a state allied for common defense with other Arab states, or federated with them, but one unhampered by the traditions and religion of Arabia, and even perhaps some day possessing a language in common with other countries of the world."

The father of the present system of education in Iraq is Sati Bey el Hussri. He was head of a teacher training school in Turkey before Iraq was established as a nation, and then was called home to organize his nation's schools. He had received his education in Turkish schools which felt the French influence; thus he inaugurated typical French centralization with a formal French academic curriculum.

Although no longer an official of the Department of Education, Sati Bey is still perhaps the most brilliant and influential educational leader in Iraq. Like all the people, he wants first of all to develop a spirit of nationalism. "We want a fundamentally Arab culture," he says, "but one which is modern—that is a difficult combination but it is what we want. The form of government is not essential—

some advocate monarchy, others a republic—but we are in such desperate need of capital to develop our country that our economic organization must be capitalistic.

“Nationalism for us is more important than individualism, for the Arabs have always been extremely individualistic. Our schools must emphasize the subordination of one’s self and even one’s personal ideals and principles to the good of the state.

“Nationalism must be stronger, too, than internationalism—except the internationalism of Arab nations. Yet it is a defensive nationalism we want, not an aggressive one.

“The selection of what we teach will all be in the light of these aims. In our history and biography we shall show enough of our weaknesses to develop the will to overcome them, but shall not stress our backwardness or our wrongs at the hands of other nations to the point of discouraging the students—Arabs are inclined to be too easily discouraged, too fatalistic.

“Your question of child-centered education versus a planned curriculum in terms of social needs does not concern us. Your country is in the vanguard of civilization, ours in the rear guard. You are concerned with the luxuries of education, such as the children’s creative work. But we are up against grim necessities and must leave such things as individual self-expression until we have a self-sufficient nation with a national consciousness and advanced enough to take a place of equality among other nations of the world.”

Sati Bey would not have children discuss current problems in school. He feels there is too much acrimonious discussion in the newspapers. But he was alone in this attitude

among all the people we interviewed. Otherwise there was much harmony between his views and those of others.

The young Iraqi are better represented by such a man as Matta Akrawi, principal of the Boys' Normal School, a man trained professionally at Teachers College, Columbia University. He agreed with the others on the importance of national unity and Arabian solidarity, but he emphasized other social aims as well.

"We must strive for a democratic state—democratic not only politically but socially and economically. Our tenant farmers get little more than a third of their produce after paying the landowners and the government taxes. We still have a feudal system which is encouraged by the British. But our thinkers want to abolish the system of letting tribal heads become rich and powerful through ownership and distribution of land. We want our people to get rid of the old idea of government, an idea resulting from corrupt autocratic systems which have been imposed upon them for centuries and which had as their main purpose the sweating of the people. The people must instead understand that the government is there to serve them, not to rule them.

"The health conditions in the country are very bad. Education must be directed toward improving these.

"The schools must strive to improve agriculture, to prevent deforestation, and to increase people's general effectiveness and productivity.

"With the development of Arab nationalism goes Arab culture. We have architecture, music, literature and decorative arts. Let us develop these in harmony with western culture.

"Recreation consists at present of nothing but sitting



in cafés and playing trik trak (a game of dice). We must develop more active, profitable, healthful, and recreative use of leisure, such as athletics, camping trips, reading, plays, and clubs.

"Family life needs to be looked after—if we can be said to have a family life. Now the father is the patriarch, the dictator. The men never eat with the women. In the cities they spend their leisure in coffee houses. There is no family fellowship. The tribes still trade in women and use them as indemnity; and in the cities, as you have seen, the Muslim women go heavily veiled." (We certainly had seen them, shrouded completely in black, their heavy black veils fit symbol of their isolation.) "If in our schools we can inculcate western respect for women and describe the freedom your women have in the West, we may be able to spread discontent with the present system."

On this question of the women's position, Alice Kandileft, principal of the Girls' Normal School in Baghdad, also a product of Teachers College, Columbia University, was more explicit.

"You must remember," she said, "that Mohammed taught and gave respect and freedom to women. His own wife was the power behind the throne, intelligent, energetic, and wealthy. She took notes on his visions. Women of his day made speeches, wrote poetry, went to war, and participated in great literary conferences. Even now, by Islamic law, women have more property rights and other rights than those in certain European countries. If we can interpret those Islamic laws to the people, it will be possible to restore women's rights without too great a break with religious prejudices.

"The influence of the new attitude toward women in Iraq is much stronger than many realize. In a few years this hidden force, too, will help women to come out of their seclusion.

"I am not in a hurry for women's unveiling. With the little education they have and the kind of men with whom they have to deal, unveiling must come slowly!

"What I would mostly stress for girls as well as for boys is character education. This I should like to have done in as scientific a way as possible. We want not just lectures on ethics, but a careful study as to the most effective means of developing character."

Akrawi agrees with Sati Bey and the others in the need, at present, for stressing sacrifice, and more particularly service, to the nation rather than individual idealism, and nationalism rather than internationalism. He has somewhat more faith in the value of teaching objectively truthful history than do the others and feels strongly that students should discuss current topics in school. He said, "I believe the government hurts itself by trying to suppress political discussions by students. The students will get half-baked political ideas outside the school, and with inadequate guidance they will fall ready prey to the propagandist and the partisan.

"In such discussions the teacher should avoid expressing his personal opinions and should let the students work out their own solutions. This is the only way they can get training in thinking for themselves. And it is only through such discussions and such thinking on the actual problems that confront the state that a generation can be brought up which can hold the state."

On the matter of selecting and organizing the materials of the curriculum, Akrawi was again explicit. "We should study the demands of the environment and organize our curriculum to satisfy these demands in as natural and child-like a way as possible. If necessary, we should direct the children's activities and interests so that they will feel adult needs as their own. There is no sharp line between adults' environment and children's. I certainly would not like to miss some of the adult aims. A child doesn't mind dirtiness, for example—it is easier to be dirty—but we want to make him clean and healthy.

"Character training should surely be included in the curriculum, but so far we have failed entirely here. Our school work is departmentalized by academic subjects even in the primary grades. This, coupled with the repressive methods of discipline, leaves little room for character education. Yet it would be ironic to expect the home to give character training when we wish to raise the child above the level of the home. We should strive definitely toward inculcating such habits as fair play, honesty, and industry. At the same time we should treat the moral code as we would questions of history, having free discussion so as to bring about a thoughtful, reasoned attitude toward ethical questions."

If men like Akrawi were in power, much might be done in Iraq through education. He, Jamali, Kasir, Alice Kandileft and the all-too-few other young, professionally trained educators will probably have their day. But now the Minister of Education is a kindly, well-disposed man with no professional knowledge, selected for his post for purely religious and political reasons. The Director General of

Schools is earnest and sincere, but is a military man, quite unprepared for his office. The General Inspector of Schools is an English functionary with no notion of the profession of education or the possibilities of helping this new country through an educational system based on its needs. King Faisal appears to have given much more intelligent, tradition-free thinking to educational problems than have those whom he and parliament have entrusted with the difficult task of directing the growth of the generation which will make or break Iraq.

Something of the Arab fatalism can be found even in the younger group, a few of whom tend more toward pessimistic dissatisfaction with the present régime than toward active, organized, determined effort to build anew. And perhaps it is Arab individualism which makes it difficult for the constructive forces to coördinate their efforts and unite in a common struggle.

Will the educated young Arabs succeed in making the kind of education which alone can make of Iraq or of the group of Arab states a self-sustaining, self-respecting, unified nation? If they are to do so, first they will have to study the economic and social needs and possibilities of their people, and then, utilizing the best of scientific methods, completely remake their system of education. It must not be on a western model—our own education is too little in touch even with our western lives—but it may use western techniques of discovering needs and of adapting methods and teaching materials to these needs.

If this is done, why shouldn't the land which once supported the Chaldees, which was once the great Babylonian empire, which under Haroun-al-Raschid became the



world's center of science and culture, awake from its relatively brief slumber of a thousand years and become once more a great nation contributing liberally to the advancement of civilization?

#### SYRIA

Syria is separated from Iraq by an imaginary line in the desert, but after crossing this line mountains begin to come into view and greenery gradually appears. The country around Damascus—said by some to be the oldest city in the world—is verdant, rolling and beautiful. Although women are still veiled, and Arabs on camels, horses, and donkeys crowd the streets, there is evidence of contact with western civilization.

We had talked to Syrians in Iraq and were to meet the great Syrian exile, Dr. Shabander, later in Egypt. From these we learned that Syria shared in Iraq's hope for a union of Arab nations. The three men with whom I talked in Syria, however, were not interested in this aim. Two of them derided it.

"The trouble with those men," Dr. Shabander told us afterward, "is that they are so absorbed with their immediate pressing problems that they cannot look toward the broader horizon. But their viewpoint must not be taken as typical. There are many Syrians who share with the Iraqi the hope of pan-Arabism. There is, however, this difficulty in Syria: Turkey in the days of the Sultan strove to promulgate pan-Islamism, trying to unite all Mohammedan nations, including Persians and Turks as well as Arabs, under the Turkish banner. It was a ruse to give Turkey political power, rather than a genuine ideal. It is difficult

to dissociate this false effort of the past from the present ideal of Arab union. For the moment, let each of the Arab countries strive for its own independence and solve its own problems; then the union will inevitably follow."

Faris el-Khourî, although a Christian, is recognized as one of the leaders of Syrian thought. He is respected and followed by Christian and Musselman. When King Faisal ruled Syria before the French mandate, Faris el-Khourî was Minister of Finance and later was Minister of Public Instruction. Now he is a barrister at law and professor of Finance and Civil Procedure in the School of Law at Damascus. He is a man of about fifty, vigorous, intense, yet affable, with a clear, incisive mind. He speaks straight to the point.

"I prefer the Turkish system of Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Have non-sectarian schools; cut all relations with the past, destroy any element that would link us with the past. I don't agree with Sati Bey of Baghdad; it is impossible to think of Arab unity. The Arabs are composed of such different elements and have such different degrees of culture that it is absurd to try to unite them.

"First of all we must cancel the religious fanaticism of the Arab Moslems. We can't do that in all the Arab countries at once—we must begin in those most culturally advanced, Syria for example, and let the others follow. You will never succeed in having Yemen, Hejaz, Iraq and the others attain the same culture. These are dominated by religion and would like to drag us back to the days of Hannifer and Haroun-al-Raschid. Our Arab countries are different from others. No others have so much religious domination of education, legislation, and social life. Mos-

lemism dominates every detail of living—speaking, dressing, visiting—everything. The Moslems stick to this religion so hard that it is difficult to get them out of their rut. The only way we can get them to leave their obscurity is to build something new.

“What would we put in its place? We are thinking now of destroying! Certainly we must develop new systems of thinking common to socialistic and democratic nations—perhaps the American system. Let us teach freedom of thinking—here we are not allowed to think as we like. And let us teach *realities*—things as they are, not as somebody a thousand years ago supposed them to be.

“It is impossible to have Arab unity before we cancel all this rubbish, before we take off our old clothes and have a bath. If we unite the Arabs with their present trappings, they will make a bad group.

“Until now we have had no nationalism in this country in your sense of the word. Our parties have all been based upon different faiths. We want to cancel this and establish nationalism. To that end we would sacrifice anything, even personal free thinking, until it is achieved. Then we will be willing to give freedom to the individual.

“To increase individualism now is a great danger. It is liable to breed chaos, anarchy. Everyone is attached to his own old methods of thinking, to his own old doctrines.

“And for the present, nationalism should be stronger than internationalism. First we must form a nation so that we can take a place among other nations of the world; then internationalism can be our ultimate ideal.

“Unfortunately the mandatory powers in Syria and Palestine are not helping to establish nationalism, but are

putting obstacles in our way. You in the United States gave these mandates—and then withdrew, leaving the dagger in the hands of the mandatory powers. Why do you not control its use?

“You ask if I would bend the teachings of history to the end of creating this national spirit. It can’t be done. Our history does not create a Syrian nationalism. It is all a general history of Islamism. It would tend, therefore, to feed the ideal of Arab unity, not regional nationalism. For this reason the Egyptians are abandoning the teaching of the history of the Arabs and are teaching the old history of the Pharaohs.

“Let us therefore teach history objectively. It is not elastic enough to lend itself to our purposes. And let us not teach too much history. We over-glorify the past. I would rather diminish our feeling of respect for what our ancestors did. I would have the people know little or nothing of the past, lest they sit with folded hands, proud of their ancient glory and doing nothing in the present. Let them do things *now*!

“It is better not to allow delicate, sensitive questions like Arab unity and communism to be discussed in school. We must be careful not to expose ourselves to danger. Communism, for example, is very tempting to our poor people. We must not allow students to discuss it, but must always show them that it is bad. In more advanced nations, such discussions may be good, but in our country we must be careful not to give the people food that they cannot digest.

“I prefer practical education. Let us not give children fruitless facts, but the bare essentials. They can add to these later from their own reading and discussions. Nations that



have had great advancement in the past, reached it by character, not by academic education. Practical education will do more toward developing character than will teaching trigonometry and geometry, or breaking the school-boy's brain night after night in the attempt to simplify and solve abstract algebraic equations. Leave such things for the specialists. This is an age of specialism. General education should impart things of use to every man that can be applied and thought of every day. The curriculum of practical things should be planned and limited, definite.

"Schools should be centers of education, not only in sciences, but in character. Mohammed said, 'I am sent especially to bring perfection of character.' The people around him who did his great work and established empires were mostly illiterate.

"Next in importance is health. Literacy comes third.

"Our present schools are prisons, places of persecution for children. Schools should be as kindergartens to build strong, healthy, solid men—not only men of knowledge, but men who know how to live."

I also interviewed the present Minister of Education, but found him so cautious in what he said that the interview was of little value. Even he, however, felt that the present French system tended to educate functionaries—more than Syria could use—and that gradually it should be modified along more practical lines. He wanted to encourage industry and agriculture so that students would not be expatriated by their education. "Eight hundred thousand of our four million people have emigrated," he said.

While in general he favored letting students develop their own ideas rather than being influenced by the teach-

ers, he recoiled at the idea of their discussing such questions as communism. "It would bring chaos."

The man to whom President Dodge of the American University at Beirut referred me as influential in Syrian thinking was Suleiman Saad. After graduating from Beirut he decided to establish a private school in Damascus as free as possible from French influence. He is principal of this "Lycée Universel," a man approaching forty, with ideals and a clear head.

"In this country we have no free hand," said Suleiman Saad. "The schools are in the hands of the French authorities who want to make the children Francophil so that Syria will be easier to control. Most of the non-governmental schools are clerical and are used to propagandize the French language, civic ideas, etc. Mine is one of the very few schools not under control of the French government or French clerics.

"If I had a free hand with education in Syria, I would first of all unify education for men and women and try to get rid of religious fanaticism. We have twenty-seven different sects—Christian, Jew and Muslim—all fighting against each other, a remainder of the Turkish attempt to keep the country divided. We should teach religious tolerance and build up the character of the nation. We should make all people feel that they are part of one country, and should instill in them coöperation, team work, tolerance, perseverance, and the spirit of hard work.

"Next I would fit boys and girls for their environment, giving them efficiency *here*.

"Rather than strive for a general social aim, I would

try to develop each individual, giving him more light and letting him make things better himself in the future.

"We must develop a spirit of general nationalism at this time. When we are a free nation we can let individual conscience have more play, and let each individual work for the whole without losing himself—we can then work toward general human brotherhood rather than regional nationalism.

"Weaker nations in particular need to extend the international spirit. Think what too strong a nationalism has done in the Balkans, Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan.

"Let students study the faults of their nation and of its heroes. It gives them incentive. A great man's mistakes make him more natural and more capable of being followed. I like the biography of Lincoln, written by a Quaker, giving his weaknesses as well as his virtues, far more than the kind which place him on a pedestal. It is the same with national history. When we mention bad points we can show how they could have been avoided.

"As to freedom of discussion, however, that depends on the age of the children. Give them things to discuss which they can fully understand, prohibit other things. Let the teacher give all sides of the question and keep out his personal belief—he may mention it if he wishes, but must not try to influence students. They should have free thought. However, this sort of discussion should only take place in the highest class of the secondary school or probably only in college.

"A generally planned curriculum is much better than a child-centered one for building nationalism and internationalism. It gives uniformity where we need it without

repressing the individual. It is more practical and easier to organize. It may involve some sacrifice of the individual, but it is a gain on the part of the whole. In selecting material for this curriculum, we must select it in terms of our purposes, and teach such facts as will further our general aims.

“Character education in school is fundamental. Knowledge is a power which can be harnessed through character to be used for either good or bad. It is more essential to develop character—the child’s moral and spiritual side—than to give science and knowledge. The life of nations depends on a few individuals of character.”

In talking with Syrians one feels that the thinkers are all engrossed in the struggle for independence. They feel the pressure of the French mandate so strongly that they think of education mainly in terms of developing a unified nationalism which will enable the country to throw off the foreign yoke. Throughout the Near East we were told that the French domination of Syria was much more oppressive than the British domination of Iraq and Palestine, or the British “influence” in Egypt.

“The French don’t know their job as well as the English,” said the exiled Dr. Shabander. “They have their finger in every pie. Wherever you turn you are conscious of the French presence. But they are beginning to learn that they are losing money by alienating the Syrians and that their prestige instead of being increased by their policies is ebbing throughout the Near East. Armed revolution against them, we have learned, is hopeless; but when they realize that irritating uprisings and disorders are in-



evitable while their oppression continues they may come to reason and allow Syria to work out its own destiny."

#### EGYPT

Southward from Jerusalem the land begins to flatten out and soften. There are fields of green pasture land, and then great sand dunes border the Mediterranean. Then the fields gradually become desert and one feels oneself again in Arabia. But after crossing Suez and entering the valley of the Nile, the rich, silted land brings forth abundant harvests, the wealth of which is seen in the parks and mansions of Cairo.

Egypt, long under Turkish suzerainty, then relatively free, then a British protectorate, is now nominally a sovereign nation. But there are the capitulations. Egypt can make no laws involving foreigners without the consent of the foreigners' home countries. She cannot even tax directly another country's nationals without that country's consent. Because of such limitations she feels herself hobbled in passing social legislation or in putting herself on a sounder financial basis through an income tax. And she feels impotent against the present minority government which by a coup d'état seized the power, abrogated the constitution, dissolved parliament, and promulgated a new electoral law designed to keep itself in power. Should the Nationalists—members of the Wafd Party—try by force of arms to expel the usurping power, Britain would put down the uprising in the name of maintaining peace and safety for foreigners—at least so the Wafdists feel.

So in Egypt too one senses the struggle of the East to throw off western domination. Japan is the only country

of the Orient which feels free and even Japan's nationalism is doubtless intensified by the determination to resist or imitate western aggression.

We were in Egypt on the eve of the elections under the new electoral law. Wafdists were resolved to boycott these elections. "Even the King is disturbed by the widespread feeling against his present government," one of the Wafdists said to me. "And Britain feels uneasy about making treaties with a government which does not have the people's support." Troops were parading the streets continually during these days and three men were killed while I was having one of my interviews.

The first interview was with a young, American-trained professor of education at the American University at Cairo—Amir Effendi Buktor. He is an earnest man and one who through his position is likely to have influence on Egyptian education; for the American University is apparently the only institution attempting a scientific study of pedagogy. He said:

"We have had no objective in education in Egypt. Up to now we have merely been preparing men to occupy government jobs. I have actually known a rich landowner's son to accept the position of carrying the portfolio of an official because by so doing he could say he was in the employ of the government. Five or six years ago the Minister of Education realized the inadequacy of this aim, but so far has not found a better one.

"Personally I would educate for efficiency, to supply the needs of the country. Egypt needs people scientifically trained to take care of the land and trained in modern ways of commerce—our people don't know how to trade.

"I should avoid fostering a spirit of nationalism in the schools—it leads the students nowhere. On the other hand, of course, I want Egypt to become truly independent and the students must learn to sacrifice even their personal principles for their country. It took bloodshed for us to get any freedom from England.

"There should be complete freedom of discussion in the schools; it is the safest way. The teacher should give students time to reason and find things out for themselves and then afterward should be free to express his own point of view.

"Internationalism in the sense of unity with other nations is good to the extent that it does not interfere with the country's progress toward independence. I doubt the practicability of pan-Arabism. There are too many differences of religion and culture. The desire for it comes not from Egypt but from poorer countries like Palestine, Syria and Iraq, which want it for economic reasons. I think the problems of these separate groups would be complicated were they to unite.

"When it comes to building a curriculum, I am in favor of the Kilpatrick idea—perhaps partly because I took his course, but largely because we have been steeped in formalism so long.

"Character education in Egypt consists only of reading precepts. I believe character can only be developed by putting children with good teachers and giving them the right kind of activities."

The most stimulating conference was with Dr. Kirdany—Mohammed Abdul Salaam Kirdany Bey, to be exact—Inspector of Schools in the Ministry of Education. Although

he is a mature man, apparently in his forties, and his hair is beginning to be grizzled, he allies himself with the youth of Egypt and is youthful in his outlook and vigor.

"In Egypt there is little chance to put educational ideas into practice and the people with ideas are not given prominent positions," he said.

"We need to teach grown-ups as well as children. They all need to learn the very elementary things. We must create in them a social spirit and an interest in science.

"In 1924 we opened twenty-five teacher training schools in Egypt in an attempt to bring about compulsory education in ten years. To man these we had to pull out the best teachers from our elementary and secondary schools, leaving these schools in the hands of incompetent teachers. We made curricula in a mad rush. The consequence is that we have training-teachers with no heart in their work, curricula badly built, and poorly trained students graduating from our training colleges with no jobs waiting for them. We have extended the time for bringing about compulsory education to fifteen years. But the education we have is so poor in quality that it is useless. The Arabs do not want to send their children to school because it unfits them for farm work. They are taught nothing about agriculture. They get merely book learning.

"I would like to have a training college in each district to prepare teachers to meet the local needs, to be in touch with the people, and to make them efficient in their daily lives.

"In Mohammedan schools I would teach Islam, for Islam contains all the elements for a balanced social life. I would not force this teaching on the Copts or other Chris-



tians, but as a matter of fact, the differences between Copts and Mohammedans are minor and we get along quite harmoniously together.

"We do not need to develop nationalism through education. Our students are bound to get it through the daily happenings about them. Nationalism is important, however, and the Japanese view that the individual should subordinate himself for the good of the nation seems to me more natural and less dangerous than the more individualistic attitude. I do not want to kindle too strong a national feeling lest it make our people bigoted. Strangely enough the uneducated people in Egypt are more nationalistic than the educated.

"I do not want a political pan-Arabism. I think it would mean trouble. But a cultural union binding our countries in thought and language is thoroughly desirable. Perhaps you know that a group of fifty students and ten or fifteen instructors went to Iraq lately. They came back convinced of the need of a binding relation between our countries."

Kirdany laughed at the idea of internationalism while Egypt is dominated by a foreign nation. He thought nationalism must come first and that any talk of internationalism under present conditions was a sham.

He believed in free discussion in school and the freedom of the teacher to defend his own viewpoint, except where that is so offensive to the community in which he is teaching as to be liable to destroy his effectiveness.

"History and biography should be taught objectively with the pros and cons of each question. Otherwise the students cannot attack problems wisely," he continued.

"But the facts and problems should be selected in terms of their probable usefulness to the students.

"In building the curriculum I should be inclined to follow the same general plan that you described in your lecture at the university yesterday, making a scientific study of social needs and providing for these, but allowing ample time each day for the more spontaneous activities of children.

"Character development is of course an essential of education, but I think it comes largely through the influence of the master's example. Let the master be a person of good character and the children will absorb it from him. In selecting teachers I should make this matter of character the first requisite."

"Have you any other aim in education which has not been brought out by my questions?" I asked.

He smiled. "My dearest wish would be to drown all the members of the Ministry of Education! It is bureaucratic and knows nothing of education. A man with ideals is not allowed to develop them; he must conform. Our training schools have no elementary school attached for demonstration and practice teaching. They are just machines to turn out teachers."

"Do you think the Wafdists, if they come to power, will improve the educational situation?" I asked.

"Their leaders are very conservative in such matters at present; but they are at least sincere and could probably be gradually influenced by our thinkers. We have a group of thoughtful people who are writing, publishing and translating books and consistently striving toward a more effec-

tive education. In time they are bound to make themselves felt."

It is interesting that in Egypt for the first time we find the development of nationalism not a primary aim in education. Nationalism already exists in Egypt to such an extent that responsible educators would check its abuse rather than develop it further.

In Egypt as in Syria and Iraq there is a strong reaction against educational formalism and book learning and a desire to make education practical. Vocational efficiency is a prime need throughout the East, but the Arab nations are more definitely conscious of this need than are those of the Far East.

There is no general self-conscious attempt to bring about or perpetuate a special kind of society in the Arabian countries, not even to the extent to which China would go. In Iraq there is the feeling that the land question must be solved but no general consensus as to the solution—there is just a realization that landlordism and tenant farming are an evil. In Syria some people at least would avoid communism as they would the devil; but there is no concerted plan for avoiding the evils of capitalism. In Egypt the Wafd Party which, with its sympathizers, is probably a majority, wants a constitutional government, but there is no formulated plan of social reconstruction to be brought about through education.

In all these countries national independence from European domination and political influence is uppermost in the minds of the leaders. Practical efficiency on the part of the common people, to raise the pitifully low standard of

living and make the nations self-sufficient and self-respecting, is the other great urge.

In trying to bring about independence and efficiency these countries would subordinate the individualism which so characterizes the Arabs. "It is the Arab blood in the Spaniard and Portuguese that causes so many revolutions in their countries and in Latin America," one Arab told me.

Methods of curriculum building and of character education have been considered by only a few of the most thoughtful Arab leaders. They know that the formal academic curriculum is not what they want; but entrenched bureaucracy and foreign influence have kept them from action in building anew.

Yet the fire and earnestness and conviction of the younger leaders in all these countries will sooner or later uproot the weak and sterile education that has been transplanted from foreign soils and will plant in its place a vigorous, indigenous education, an education which will bear fruit in the form of more effective living and more united effort on the part of all Arab nations.



## CHAPTER SIX

### TURKEY—UNDER WESTERN INFLUENCE

IN Turkey, as in the other countries of the Orient, nationalism is a dominant educational motif. This time, however, it is the nationalism of a country which has recently emerged victorious from a struggle to throw off western imperialism; a nationalism which is to a large extent the product of that grasping imperialism.

Before the World War the old Ottoman Empire could not be said to have a nationalist spirit. It was made up of widely diverse people who, if they were bound together by any ideal, found that ideal in Islam. Such loyalty as they possessed—and for the most part it was probably pretty meager—was not toward the empire as such but toward the empire as the seat of the Caliphate and the defender of the faith.

The lack of any real cohesion became evident before and during the World War, when different parts such as Bulgaria and the Arab states began to shake themselves loose. The Young Turks, it is true, had attempted to develop nationalism. Their efforts culminated in the revolution of 1908 and the subsequent political power of their party, and for a while nationalism took the form of pan-Turanianism, an attempt to develop a unity of feeling among all people of the same origin as the Turks—the Turks in

China, Russia, and elsewhere, the Hungarians, and the Finns. This was supposed to be a movement parallel to Russia's plan—Slavism which sought an accord among all Slavic peoples and which in its championship of the Slavic Serbs precipitated the World War. Pan-Turanianism did not "take," however, and Turkish nationalism had a difficult path. Those who sought to bring about a feeling of unity among the Turkish-speaking peoples brought a sense of disunity in an empire which included the Arab nations.

At the close of the World War Turkey was defeated, war weary, dismembered and unsound economically, politically and socially; a backward nation, with a weak monarch, corrupt officials, ignorant, illiterate and primitive peasantry and no great central ideal or outstanding leader.

But there was one young man who had many military achievements to his credit and who in his heart held certain ideals for Turkey. This was Mustapha Kemal. As yet he had no great following, announced program, or political power.

Then by its own blindness western imperialistic greed came to the nation's rescue. During the war France, Britain, Russia and Italy had entered into secret treaties with plans for a nice division of the spoils in the form of a carved up Turkey. Their division probably would have taken place had it not been for disagreements among the Allies when Russia was eliminated from the picture by the revolution. While the final peace terms with Turkey were being postponed, Greece persuaded France and Britain to allow her to occupy Smyrna and Western Turkey—Greece dreamed of a revival of ancient pan-Hellenism and a Greek empire that should embrace the entire Ægean.

Convoyed by French, even American, but principally British ships, the Greek army invaded Turkey and committed the atrocities usual to an invading army, but with all the refinements of Near Eastern technique. The Sultan was under Allied domination and made no armed resistance. But young Kemal, who had begun organizing Turkish Nationalists in the wilds of Anatolia and was now declared an outlaw, decided to resist to the uttermost the Greek invasion. This invasion of the homeland made it possible for him to arouse even the war-wearied Turks to patriotic fervor.

Kemal had the power of persuasion, the light of an ideal, and the skill of a trained military strategist. An American whom I came to know in Turkey, one who had fought in Kemal's army, said to me, "It was wonderful what that man could do. When we were discouraged and worn out, a word from him even by telegraph would put fresh heart in us and we were all ready to do anything in our power for him."

Two other events occurred during this period which added fuel to the Nationalist fire. The western powers came to an agreement among themselves and forced a treaty on the impotent Sultan, a treaty so degrading to Turkey's sovereignty and so destructive to her integrity as a nation that every Turk with any patriotic feeling resented it bitterly. Fortunately Kemal had previously organized his forces as a government and this had declared that any treaties entered into by the Sultan's government would not be recognized.

The other event was the stupid and unjustifiable occupation of Constantinople by a British general with the con-

sent of the French high command, and the exile to Malta by him of some of the Turkish Nationalist leaders.

The attempts to take away Turkey's richest lands and the occupation of her great city gave nationalism its birth and nourishment. With Kemal as its leader it succeeded in completely routing the Greeks and obtaining from the Allies all that it demanded.

It was fortunately a wise and non-imperialistic nationalism, one which recognized from the beginning the national claims of former parts of the empire. It made no attempt to retain the Arab states or other extraneous parts of the old realm. Nor, when flushed with victory, did it try to obtain more than the obviously just right of integral sovereignty for the Turkish nation.

The freeing of Turkey from western political influence was only part of Kemal's program. The other part was making western influence felt throughout Turkey in the matter of economic and social development—not the influence of western imperialism and not the influence of political states, but the influence of ideas which had made the West great.

Turkey was made into a republic, the Sultan being shorn of his political power and retaining only his religious prerogatives. Education, like politics, was fully secularized. Polygamy and the veiling of women were frowned upon. Fezzes were peremptorily ordered off—they savored too much of the past and of the domination of Islam over the people's daily lives. Various forms of advanced social legislation were passed.

At the same time the economics of Turkey came in for improvement. Farmers' coöperatives were organized, farm



credits arranged, seeds freely distributed, agricultural machinery imported. Kemal himself became a gentleman farmer, his farm being made a model for the country, with fine-blooded cattle, and modern implements and methods. Railroads were extended.

These economic developments were financed without outside help—the Nationalists were suspicious of the aid of the financiers of the imperialistic nations. In spite of grave shortage of funds and great need, the Nationalist government rigorously avoided currency inflation and relieved the peasants of burdensome taxes. Industries were encouraged and in some cases subsidized.

All this had been done in eight short years. When I was in Turkey in 1923 fezzes were universal, women were veiled, the railroad trip from Constantinople to Angora too difficult and arduous to take. Turkey was still a picturesque and colorful but very backward country. Now in 1931 the streets and bazaars are less interesting to the tourist but more in step with modern progress. There are three trains daily from Constantinople to Angora, the express making the trip overnight with the most modern and comfortable Wagon-Lits equipment.

I am sorry that I did not make that trip to Angora eight years ago. I should like to have seen the contrast. From all reports it was a dirty, ramshackle, primitive town untouched by western ideas. To-day its broad streets, its great hospital, its Rockefeller Research Institute, its palace, its parliament building, its embassies, and its schools, make it a clean, decent, promising city full of the vigor of new growth. I suppose Nanking seven or eight years hence (if

China can remain peaceful that long) will exhibit just such a contrast.

I don't want to paint the picture in colors too rosy. There is still much illiteracy; the highly centralized school system still retains much of French formalism; most peasants still use primitive methods of agriculture and retain their ignorance and superstition. The finances of the country are still somewhat precarious—while I was in Angora the budget was being slashed and government salaries cut. There is a long and difficult road ahead before economic prosperity and social enlightenment can become general. Nevertheless, if the present enthusiasm, earnest hard work, unified effort and intelligent direction continue, Turkey's future as a self-sufficient and enlightened nation is assured.

In the Ministry of Education at Angora there are three men who both by their official positions and by their thought and work are strongly influencing the direction of Turkish educational thought. They are all mature men and earnest. Ihsan Bey is president in the Council of Education, rather large, gray-mustached, genial and free spoken. Mehmet Emin Bey is the permanent under-secretary in the Ministry of Education, bald, slender, scholarly looking, very quiet in manner. Avni Bey, a member of the Council of Education, is perhaps a little younger than the other two and is the translator into Turkish of books by John Dewey and other American educators. He is a Turkish representative of the international New Education Fellowship and definitely a "progressive" in educational thinking.

I spent the morning with these three men in Ihsan Bey's large and comfortable office. He usually was spokesman for

the three, the others agreeing with him or suggesting modifications to his statements, which he in turn accepted. I shall therefore not attempt to treat their statements separately.

"This country has its own goal," they agreed. "We certainly do not wish to perpetuate our old institutions. We want to develop new ones adaptable to present conditions of modern society. The old régime was an empire containing many cliques and many different conceptions. Many communities had no secular education.

"We have made a revolution and it has changed the mentality of the nation as well as many other things. When we had our revolution we conceived a new society embodying certain ideals. It is toward the accomplishment of those ideals that all our education is directed. They may be briefly summed up as the establishment of a society in which the attitude toward life is scientific and secular and in which people are vocationally and socially efficient.

"Naturally these ideals are not completely realized. The revolution could not change the whole mentality of the nation. But our new generation will continue to be educated toward a realization of our ideals.

"We want to change society, certainly—but not entirely. We have achieved part of our aim. We wish to retain and assimilate what we have achieved through the revolution, while continuing to achieve more. We have, for example, established a republic. We do not want to change from this but rather to perpetuate it and to make good citizens for it. We have adopted western characters in our writing and printing in place of the Arabic. Now we want to teach these not only to children but to adults.

“In the matter of the relative importance of the convictions of the individual and the decisions of the state, the public interest comes first. But there is not a contradiction between the two. The interest of the state is achieved through the welfare of the individual and vice versa. It is not contrary to the idea of individual freedom to say that the ideals of the nation are more important than those of the individual, especially if we preserve a distinction between the ideals of the nation and those of the government. The government should represent the nation but does not necessarily do so. When it does not the citizens have the right to change or overthrow it.

“One can usually convince individuals of the importance of national aims and aspirations, but if the individual cannot be convinced, he still must conform. One cannot have individual well-being contrary to that of the state.

“Just as the nation’s interest must supersede the interests of the individual, so too must nationalism be stronger than internationalism. But again there should be no conflict. The Turkish nation is a part of the community of nations. Its ideals are not imperialistic. Its interests are bound up with those of other countries. If we had a condition of complete international justice and if no nation’s aspirations were at the expense of another nation we might safely place internationalism first.

“But to-day no such ideal condition exists. Our first duty is to our own country. It must be free to develop its personality. It is only by doing so that it can take its part in the progress of humanity. At the present time, therefore, should the lack of a satisfactory international organization



result in a conflict between the interest of Turkey and that of the rest of the world, we must choose the interest of our country."

We then passed on to the discussion of the objectivity of history teaching and freedom of discussion in schools. They said:

"To understand the present society, the child must understand how it came into being, how such ideas as scientific thinking and democracy developed. To give them this understanding it is not necessary to distort history; a true presentation of the facts is all that is needed. In the days of the empire, on the other hand, facts had to be carefully selected to bolster it up.

"In general, history teaching in the primary schools should be largely for the purpose of developing our national ideals. In the secondary schools and universities history may be taught more objectively, giving the pros and cons of each question.

"It is, of course, very difficult to find the actual truth in history—'Madame l'Histoire est toujours tâchée.' The communists interpret history entirely in terms of class conflict. We interpret it in terms of economic, intellectual and spiritual causes.

"Having no imperialistic ideas we teach world history unprejudiced. We believe in teaching the faults as well as the virtues of our own country, especially now when we are changing from an old régime, which we think was bad in many respects, to a new one.

"Naturally the child must feel a sympathy with the past of the country just as we feel a sympathy with our fathers

even though we recognize their faults. Our history teaching is nationalistic but not imperialistic.

"Freedom of discussion depends partly on the age of the children. In the primary school only such questions should be discussed as come within the children's grasp; but all questions may be discussed in the secondary school and university.

"The teacher should be free to influence the student's opinion toward the ideas of the state but not against them. The teacher is a functionary of the state. The Turkish community has given him a charge which he must carry out if he accepts his position. To influence the children toward thinking in the direction opposite to that of the state would be contrary to the teacher's mandate.

"Of course, this only applies to fundamental questions. On secondary questions the teacher may express himself freely."

"What do you consider fundamental questions?" I asked.

"The continued abolition of the Caliphate, laicism and the republic," was the immediate answer. By the first they meant, of course, the continued freedom of politics and daily living from the authority of the Caliph. By laicism they meant not merely the secularization of life implicit in the abolition of the Caliphate, but a more positive scientific attitude toward life and an efficient social organization of Turkey. Laicism is so implicit in our American way of thinking that we are not even conscious of it.

"How about communism?" I asked. "Is that a funda-

mental question or may the teacher express his own views pro or con?"

"Communism is contrary to nationalism. The teacher cannot advocate it."

"Well, then how about a state socialism with the communistic organization of industry and society but the retention of nationalism—can he advocate that?" I urged.

"No, he cannot!"

"Then may I put down as a fourth fundamental, capitalism?" I inquired.

They squirmed. They did not like to count capitalism as one of the fundamental things which they sought to perpetuate, but it was so fundamentally implied in the organization of their state that no teacher could advocate its overthrow.

"We cannot in our twelfth year of revolution allow either the idea of reaction or that of communism to enter," they said.

Turkish educators have been considerably influenced in their thinking by John Dewey, who spent six weeks among them two or three years ago and whose principal books, as previously indicated, have been translated into Turkish. It is natural, therefore, to find that projects and activities are a part of at least the theoretical program of the new Turkish education. In the first three grades, I am told, much of the school work is centered around activities. The three men at the ministry expressed their ideas thus: "It is necessary to give importance to the children's activities but also to direct these activities toward socially desirable aims and in such a way as to bring in the things which society demands. One should make a curriculum of minimum es-

entials, and, taking the child's interests as a point of departure and basis of organization, direct his activities toward the accomplishment of these essentials. The child does not realize his later needs as we do.

"In our schools we are working in the direction of this sort of organization and we are teaching this idea in our normal schools. But we haven't yet enough capable teachers to carry it out."

When I visited the Normal School For Boys in Istanbul I saw something of this effort. The boys were doing all kinds of handwork and carrying out constructive projects such as they would presumably use in their elementary school teaching.

It was with two Normal School men that I had my next interview. These were Professor Hifzurrahman Bey and Principal Sadrettin Celal Bey, both men considerably younger than the three at the ministry. They are in touch with American and European education, and are writing and translating much on the subject; and by training many of Turkey's teachers they are unquestionably influencing future educational policies. They both lean toward the left, Celal Bey having been imprisoned for a year and a half at one time for communist activities. It is significant that this fact has not prevented him from being principal of the Normal School. Of course, in his official position, he no longer openly advocates communism.

Celal Bey wrote out his answers to some of my questions and Rasit Bey went over and approved his statement.

"Education cannot be reduced to a simple adaptation of the child to the social life of the adults," Celal wrote.



"The schools should not be a miniature model of actual society but rather, as John Dewey has well shown in his *Democracy and Education*, an environment of activity purified from all its imperfections and deficiencies, from all its survivals of a past which form obstacles to progress and which continue to live in spite of the fact that they have lost their reason for being.

"The rôle of the school is not, therefore, to transmit en bloc what exists in present society, but to make an intelligent choice of our social heritage and to conserve only those elements which will form a better society. Therefore, the will of the school is to form desirable personalities, capable of realizing the ideal democratic society of which we have established the foundations. It is necessary, however, to guard against confounding this preparation of youth according to a general conception of society with preparation for the purpose of maintaining a particular form of state or government. What we wish to give and should give is the national democratic and secular ideal, which should remain, in its essence, fixed, but which can take different forms of application following national and international circumstances. It is especially for this reason that we should, with Mr. Kilpatrick, take into consideration the fact that the actual world is a world in transformation. There never has been an epoch in which change has been so important a factor, and there is every reason to suppose that this change will be greater and more profound in the society of the future. Youth must, therefore, envisage the future as more or less unknown. Education can no longer content itself with repeating the past. We must, of course, learn from the past, but our essential task is

to prepare youth to live in a moving world. We do not know the problems which have to be solved. It is very important that the child should retain the plasticity of his mind in order to remain open to suggestions from the outside. He should have the desire and the capacity to comprehend new points of view even though he knows that they are opposed in certain respects to his own point of view.

"Our democratic ideal obliges us to give, as far as it is possible, especially in the primary schools, a cultural education which will help our children to acquire the capacity to increase in number and precision their views on the significance of things.

"In brief, the rôle of the school in our country is to form the framework of the national life. Young people should be workers for the common welfare, builders and defenders of the democratic society of which we have just established the foundation."

On the question of patriotism versus individual ideals, Celal and Rasit were in close agreement with the ministry.

"A person may retain his freedom of thought," Celal said, "but in the realm of action one must if necessary sacrifice his personal beliefs to those of the state. If this were an autocracy it would be quite another matter. But in a democracy we would have anarchy if each followed the dictates of his own conscience instead of those of the majority."

Again in the matter of nationalism and internationalism these men agreed entirely with those at Angora.

"If all nations were equal, a loyalty to the commonwealth of nations would be possible; but that aim has not been attained." (Celal is still speaking.) "I am in full accord with the idea of removing chauvinistic material from

textbooks and working toward international understanding and peace. But our own problem now is the more urgent one of reorganizing our state, of bringing the republic into existence, and of breaking the students away from the customs and beliefs of the older generation, without at the same time making it impossible for them to fit into their present environment."

"I believe we must work toward the broader ideal," Rasit went on. "Let us begin with the smallest groups and extend outward gradually. It is a bit early for us in Turkey to consider the international question. We have too much to do in solidifying our own country. Yet in our seminars for student teachers the idea of internationalism should be discussed and the ideal developed."

"Our education is, above all, national but not nationalistic," Celal continued to explain. "It is evident that each people has its own genius and originality and that we should not try to kill this national originality; for the general harmony is made up of the diversity of originalities.

"Each nation should, therefore, play its historic rôle in the evolution of humanity. The essential is not to suppress this originality but to be on the alert to see that it does not degenerate into an aggressive particularism. Should it do that we should have a nationalistic and chauvinistic mentality which is the greatest danger.

"Educators should realize that to-day more than ever we need an enlarged patriotism which will awaken the citizens of the country to a spirit of the responsibility of each people toward the unity of peoples and to show that all people need each other to solve the great problems of organization which are before them."

Both Celal and Rasit were more strongly in favor of strictly accurate and unbiased teaching of history than were the men in the ministry. "It would be better for mankind if all nations taught their history in a truthful and unprejudiced way," they said. "There should be intellectual probity. A true picture prepares children for reality. An honest teaching of history in all countries will lead to much better understanding among them. If we should teach the Greek side of the recent war with Turkey as well as the Turkish side and if the Greeks taught our side as well as theirs, it would make for a frank discussion of our future relations."

The point of view of these Normal School men differed again from that of the Ministry in the matter of freedom of discussion and the right of the teacher to express his own views. Rasit said:

"In the middle and higher schools there should be free discussion of all questions. In this discussion, the teacher should do his best to avoid influencing the children toward either one side or the other but should likewise be free to express his own views. If we are to build a broad, free society, the teacher must be free and yet must avoid infringing on the freedom of thought of his students."

Celal was not quite so sure about this. He said, "The school is always in the service of some idea or ideal—no school is entirely free from political aims. We in Turkey are in a stage of transition. The government is revolutionary but the mass of the people are not yet. Under such conditions complete freedom of discussion and of expression by the teacher is a great danger. The teacher must believe in the republic—that far I agree with the govern-



ment. But if the teacher is more progressive than the government and is not working for reaction, he should be allowed to discuss all questions and principles. In general it is a matter of degree. If freedom of expression by the teacher is good for the state in any particular, grant it, but if bad, refuse it. Right now in the midst of the revolution, I regret to say that too much freedom would be dangerous and that it should not be allowed.

"It is very important to realize that our government is trying to impose on the people more or less against their will the idea of democracy just as it is imposing on them the modern idea of an activities program before the teachers and public have accepted it. Don't you think that in times of revolution or rapid change it is justifiable for a forward looking government to force people out of the lethargy of their old ideas?"

Celal again prepared written answers to my questions on the curriculum. Let me quote the more important of these answers.

"It is difficult to determine the quantity and quality of the knowledges which every normal man should possess. I believe that each nation should determine this matter according to the needs and complexity of its social life and according to the possibilities and duration of primary education. In any case one may say that these knowledges should be determined with the following aims:

"To awaken in the child an active interest in its environment.

"To make him understand the more and more complex mechanism of present society and to give him the sense and the import of things which are happening around him.

“To prepare him as completely and intelligently as possible for his future vocation and avocations.

“To permit him to continue his instruction for himself so that he may be able to find himself in the intellectual life of humanity.

“To make him acquire that maturity which will help him to think, perceive and discern the norms of human conduct.

“Every child, even in the primary school, should acquire, regardless of his future vocation, a minimum of knowledges and habits of work.

“I am definitely opposed to any admixture of religion—under whatever form—in education and instruction. The school should not maintain a more or less benevolent neutrality as it does in France to-day but an absolute indifference if not hostility toward religion. A religious education, or instruction inspired by the spirit of religion, is not compatible with a modern, positive and democratic spirit.

“In our program of instruction religion scarcely occupies more than a place of derision and is ready to disappear completely in the very near future. The religious question is not, as foreigners believe, a burning question with us.

“The preceding considerations (among which I include the idea that the school is necessarily in the service of a definite political and social concept) lead us to the following conclusion: The school cannot abstain, under the pretext of safe-guarding the intellectual liberty and independence of the child, from giving convictions as to the social and political order, *an ideal of life*. The school cannot content itself with purely objective instruction. Even if it

wished to do so, it would be an impossibility. When one speaks of education, one speaks of influence: where there is an educator there is an enthusiasm for an ideal. Were it possible to avoid this, it would be dangerous. For in abstaining from giving an ideal we leave a clear field for the action of conservative and reactionary influences in society, and by this very fact violate the true liberty and independence of the child. On the other hand, the danger resulting from inculcating ideals will vanish of itself; for in the school, while giving children an ideal of life and the enthusiasm necessary for its realization, we are at the same time cultivating a *scientific spirit*—free research, discussion and criticism.

“Coming to your next question, the formation of character is the principal task of the school. We should form personalities strong and self-sufficient but at the same time able to join freely and effectively in collective activities.

“Self education is not incompatible with the indirect and discreet intervention of the teacher for the formation of an integral personality. Certainly the educator should not intervene at every moment in the child’s activity on the pretext of forming his personality and character. And certainly it is not the word and authority of the teacher but the direct experience of the children which builds up their personalities. Nevertheless, these experiences should be stimulated, controlled and explained by the teacher. Surely the child should develop himself and one should respect his personality and spontaneity; but to abstain from all intervention and abandon the child to his inexperience will tend to keep him infantile and arrest his development.

“Self education and a determination of the knowledges

and habits that a child should acquire are not contradictory. What is necessary is to organize the school environment in such a manner as to stimulate the child to desire these knowledges and habits. It is the individual activity and even more the collective activity of the child which should lead him to feel the necessity of possessing these knowledges.

“As to the right of the child to live fully in childhood, the school is not exclusively a place where children prepare for life but rather a place where children live fully their lives as children. To satisfy the actual needs of the child is to a large extent enough to occupy our time and his. The error of the traditional school is to fix its attention on the acquisition of knowledge and to neglect growth. If the child is to be a perfect adult he must first be a perfect child.

“The difference between the child and the adult is a difference of structure. From the viewpoint of function they are identical. Both the child and the adult are subject to the law of need and interest.

“The difference in structure allows us to declare, as Mr. Claparède has well shown, that education does not have as an immediate object the preparation for adult life; for adult life presupposes structures which the child does not yet possess (or does not possess in the same form) and also needs and interests which are still foreign to him.

“On the other hand the functional identity requires that education be a process of reciprocal interdependence between the individual and his physical and social environment, having for its function the best possible adjustment of the individual to this environment through a progressive enrichment of his experience.”



Here, for the first time in the Orient, we find western pedagogical ideas in full swing. Western influences are detectible in the new China but they are to grow in a newly turned soil of ancient Chinese culture. India, while wanting some of the perquisites of western civilization, utterly repudiates western materialism and would build on the foundation of her ancient spiritual philosophy while using modern stones and mortar. The Arab countries are too absorbed in the struggle to develop their nationalism and independence to have given much thought to educational techniques, and many of their leaders want a renaissance of Arabian culture rather than any complete westernization. Japan is the most thoroughly westernized of any of the Oriental countries in her military and industrial organization; but Japan is more tightly bound to her traditional religious and monarchical ideas, which are the antithesis of western thought, than is any other nation of the East. But in Turkey western thought has taken deep root in the minds of the leaders. Turkey bids fair soon to be the most western point of Asia intellectually and socially as well as geographically.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### COMMUNIST EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

**D**URING the World War, for an American to attempt a dispassionate view of the German side of the question was to submit himself to the suspicion of being pro-German. During war one does not want to see the enemy's side. Yet no greater mistake can be made than to fail to understand the psychology of one's enemy; to fail to identify oneself with the enemy to such a degree that one can see and think with him. Otherwise one is liable gravely to underestimate the enemy's strength and to fail to take proper steps toward combating him.

Russia has declared war against capitalism. America is a capitalist country. The fact that the war is being waged in the realms of economics and propaganda instead of with armed forces renders it no less real, but rather more subtle. For an American to attempt to explain Russia sympathetically is to subject himself to the suspicion of being pro-communist. Yet an understanding of Russia is vital to the enemies of communism as well as to its friends. And such an understanding can only be achieved through looking at Russia from the inside rather than from the outside, from identifying oneself for a little while with the communists in their outlook on the world.

This is a book not on politics or economics, but on edu-

cation. Yet as we have already seen, educational aims are intimately bound up with national and economic aims, and, the Russians would say, with class aims. While in other countries this has been noticeably true, in Russia education is far more consciously and intimately tied up with the economic and political situation than in any other part of the world. We must, therefore, consider briefly the foundation on which communism is based before we can begin to understand Russian educational aims.

May I ask the reader to forget for a few minutes what may seem to him the ruthless manner in which Russia has treated those of her own citizens whom she considered enemies of the revolution; her attempts, which to many seem unwarranted, to interfere with the internal social and economic organization of other countries through propaganda; her militant atheism; her dogmatic self assurance; and the menace of her system to the capitalistic order; and to look at the world through communist eyes, while we attempt to understand the aims of communist education?

The foundation of communism is the elimination of exploitation. The cardinal sin of the world, communists feel, is the exploitation of one man by another for his own personal profit. Similar and often allied sins, according to the communists, are the exploitation of woman by man, of believer by church. Any condition of society that encourages or permits such exploitation is evil. Any person who is in the position to exploit another is a potential enemy to an incoming social order in which no exploitation shall exist.

We in America have sometimes seen the so-called exploiter working more hours per day with a heavier weight

of responsibility than the laborers whom he is exploiting. We have seen the general standard of living of workers raised by or in spite of such exploitation. This makes it hard for some to stomach Russia's exaggerated statements as to the harmfulness of capitalism.

Russia has seen this side of the picture too. She recognizes that capitalism has brought about a perfection of machinery, an organization of labor, an advancement of sanitation and hygiene, and a development of culture never before known in the world's history. She considers capitalism in its best form, particularly as exhibited in America, as a decided step forward from the feudal state from which she has so recently emerged. But she considers it essential to take what seems to her the next step forward. This, in her view, is the perpetuation of the benefits of capitalism in a society organized primarily for the workers.

Russia also sees the discrepancies between rich and poor in capitalist nations, the wastefulness of capitalist competition, the unorganized individualistic condition of capitalist society, which to-day result in a condition where, to use President Hutchins' words, "One half the world is starving to obtain the goods the other half is starving to dispose of." The facts that hundreds of thousands of stockholders draw dividends from corporations to which they contribute no direct work or ideas, and that landlords draw rents from inherited property or property acquired through enhanced values to which they have not personally contributed, argue to the Russians the necessity of a fundamental social and economic change.

How can a society be organized free from the domination of an exploiting class, possessed of all the advantages



of exploitation but of none of its inefficiencies and discrepancies? How can human beings be made to work as effectively for society as they do for personal gain, or as they work from fear of being thrown out of employment by a class which possesses all the means of production? It is to the solving of these gigantic problems that Russian education is directed.

The solution lies, according to the communists, in the development of a collectivist state of mind in which the individual sees his own good intimately bound up with the good of society, in which his own selfishness is enlarged to embrace the greater self represented by the collective. And the collective means the working class, which, in the future state of society conceived by the communists, will embrace all mankind.

The individual is to be developed, but as a part of the collective. The collective needs his originality, his talent, his initiative, for only through them can it be vital. But the individual must never be in opposition to the collective, nor must his welfare be considered isolated from it.

On this general foundation is erected the entire structure of communist education. The sense of proprietorship which has given so strong an impulse toward progress in capitalist society must be transformed into a feeling of intimate personal participation in and joint ownership of socialized industries and farms. Competition which is recognized as one of the most potent forces of capitalist society must be changed from personal competition to social competition—the competition of factory against factory and of farm against farm for efficiency of production. The schools, as will be seen a little later, take an active part in stimulat-

ing this competition. And in the schools themselves there is social competition between class group and class group and between school and school. The training of workers that was done by their "exploiters" must now be done by their own schools and "shock brigades." Industrial organization which was perfected to yield greater profits to the few must be still further perfected to yield increased leisure and comforts and cultural opportunities to the masses.

The task is a stupendous one but its magnitude is fully recognized, and a stupendous effort and organization have been brought to bear on its accomplishment.

Education in Soviet Russia is not a mere matter of schools, more or less haphazard as to their organization, unclear and divided as to their aims. Education means the organization of all available forces for the communication of ideas and modification of human behavior toward one positive and clearly seen end—the development of a classless society in which no exploitation can exist, in which the commonly shared labor is organized with the maximum of efficiency and in which the resulting leisure will be used for the highest cultural development and personal happiness of all the workers.

There are, therefore, no private or religious schools—education is too important to be out of the state's control. Education is being made universal and compulsory as rapidly as possible, more rapidly than most people would have believed possible ten years ago. Education is vitally connected with the life of contemporary Russian society and is highly focalized. It extends to all ages and includes both vocational and cultural education of adult workers. It embraces newspapers, libraries, reading rooms, museums,

cinemas, theaters, books, sports, recreation and even posters and billboards in one colossal organization.

Russia considers herself to be in a transition stage between capitalism and socialism and therefore to be engaged in active warfare against all capitalistic forces. The class struggle described by Karl Marx is to her the most intense present day reality. She is, therefore, pervaded by a war psychology understandable only by calling back to vivid memory our own wartime excesses of dogmatic onesidedness, and our intolerance of anything that smacked of the enemy. Let us not forget the "Knights of Liberty" who rode out, Ku Klux Klan fashion, and flogged those whom they believed to be German sympathizers; nor the exaggerated stories of German atrocities; nor the spreading of our prejudice even to German music. It is hard to realize that only fifteen years ago our orchestras could not play Mozart, Beethoven, Bach and Brahms. I remember receiving an order from the Commissioner of Education in California to tear out from all our song books in the San Francisco State Normal School library every page which contained a song of German origin!

The present Russian psychology is like that. The enemy is capitalism wherever it may be found. And the church, because it is believed to have been so often allied with capitalism and capitalist society, comes in for its share of enmity. Is this more unreasonable than our wartime enmity toward Beethoven?

The war psychology permeates the schools of Russia as it did our schools during the World War. It is as frankly onesided, patriotism is as ardently fanned—only it is patriotism toward a class rather than toward a nation, and a

class, the Russians claim, which embraces ninety-five per cent of humanity.

The dominant organization back of all this is, of course, the communist party, a disciplined body of a million and a half workers, highly organized to bring about the new society. I think it is fair to state that the great majority of Russian workers are heartily in sympathy with this party and its aims and that a steadily increasing number of peasants greatly prefer its domination to that of the old aristocracy and landowners. The impression often given by Russia's critics that a handful of communists are forcing their way against the will of a vast, stifled majority is, I believe, false. I think most impartial observers will agree that the party has the whole-hearted support of most of the workers and either the support or the passive acceptance of a majority of peasants.

Now let us take up Russia's answers to the specific questions we have raised in other parts of the world. It is not necessary for the most part to quote the opinions of individuals separately for there is no division of opinion among those who are leading Russia's educational thought. The communist party is, to use its own word, monolithic. "I want your personal view," I would say to various leaders, "not the official party view. You may agree with the party in general but you as a member or supporter of it must make your own contribution. You must have ideas which you would like to have it accept."

"You cannot separate our personal views from those of the party," was the universal reply. "Our views are worked out collectively as members of the party and they are based



on the Marx-Lenin dialectic. There is no difference of opinion as to our aims. We have no personal aims. Our aims are the party's aims."

We had a considerable number of interviews in Russia, talking with most of those whose thought is influential in Soviet education. At the top was Bubnov, Commissar of Education, successor to Lunacharsky, whom I had seen on a previous visit. Bubnov was made Commissar, I was told, because of a feeling that under the Five Year Plan education was so vital that a very powerful party man should be in control of it and ready to fight its battles in the high councils of the party. And Bubnov is one of the most powerful men in Russia. One sees in the Museum of the Revolution pictures of him working with Lenin and Trotsky in the early days when the Revolution was being planned. He is a member of the central executive committee of the communist party which is the real ruling power of the Soviet Union.

After two changes of appointment, I was finally granted a conference with Bubnov. He is bald, clean-shaved, and looks as if he were in his late forties. His manner is friendly and frank. And once I got to him I found him most generous of his time—he gave me three hours at the end of a hard day's work.

Beside Bubnov, during this conference, sat Professor Pinkevitch, his educational advisor. When I was in Russia in 1927, Pinkevitch was president of the Second State University of Moscow, the principal higher institution for pedagogical instruction in Russia. Now, however, the universities are broken up into institutes representing various fields. On this second visit I had more talks with Pinkevitch

than with any other man, partly because of the importance of his position, first as president of the University, now as Bubnov's advisor; partly because his knowledge of English and German made interpreters unnecessary; but largely because of a friendship that had grown up between us, beginning in 1927 when we talked long into the night over innumerable glasses of tea in his office at the University. This friendship, continued through our correspondence, was increased by his visit to America and to my schools and home, and culminated in his helpfulness when I returned to Russia to study the aims of education. He is a very likable person, clear thinking, articulate, full of enthusiasm, genial, and friendly. He is six feet four or five inches tall, with longish black hair, chin beard and mustache—a striking and fine looking man. His book, *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*,<sup>1</sup> written as a textbook in education for Russian students and teachers, is the best available book in English for a general background on Russian education.

Then there was Professor Shulgren, director of the Marx-Lenin Institute, a sort of graduate school of communism. He is a handsome man with red brown hair waving down almost to his shoulders, and the chin beard which is modish among Russian leaders. He impresses one as more fanatically communistic than the others, more close-minded—although open-mindedness toward non-communistic viewpoints is hardly a characteristic of any of them. Except in zealous orthodox Christian missionaries, or equally zealous converts, I have never seen such complete assurance that the one right way of life has been found as

<sup>1</sup> *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, by Albert Pinkevitch, translated by George S. Counts and Nucia Perlmutter, The John Day Company, New York, 1930.

exists among Russian communists. And Shulgren is a shining example. During our interview—which lasted an hour longer than was planned and in which I came in for a battery of questions—there were twenty or more of the instructors and advanced students of the Institute present, all eagerly anxious to take part.

Another interview was with the director of the Educational Museum in Moscow—a fascinating place, full of charts (the Russians dote on charts!), models, exhibits and devices. Another was with Professor Alexander Dvorine, director of the Academy of Communist Education, an institute which prepares educational leaders. His was one of the keenest, most incisive minds with which we came in contact. Still another was with Epstein, the Assistant Commissar of Education.

For an understanding of “polytechnization,” Russia’s completely new educational system, we had a fascinating, but much too short, two hours with Gaisanovitch, the young, highly intelligent chief exponent of the system. And mental hygiene was well covered by a very satisfactory conference with Professor Zalkind.

In the Ukraine, we had two conferences with the elderly, scholarly, kindly Professor Gotalof-Gotlib of Odessa, who, if not a leader in current Russian educational thinking, is an excellent interpreter of it, with a broad background of understanding of foreign educational work.

In a number of cases the persons interviewed spoke German, or occasionally French or English, thus doing away with the inconvenience of an interpreter. But some spoke only Russian, and I was fortunate in having the very able

assistance of my former student, Miss Hoodnitzkaya, in interpreting these interviews for me.

The answer to the first question is already obvious. Russia is trying to build a very definite type of society through education. While in order to be orthodox or Marxian, Professor Pinkevitch, for one, disavows the possibility of building a society through education, his whole book, *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*, as well as his statements in our interviews, indicates that the making of a new society is the aim of education. In his chapter on "The School and Society," he makes the general disclaimer: "As already mentioned we are not supporters of the thesis that an existing society can be changed through the school. To make the school the embryo of a future socialistic order is impossible for the scientific reason that the school cannot be independent of its environment. . . . The school will of course reflect the existing situation; and the children because of their imitateness and suggestibility are naturally influenced by their surroundings."

He then goes on to show that present day society in Russia, being saturated with the phenomena of the revolution, can be made the starting point in the effort to build up a communistic ideology. But he, in common with all other communists, thinks that a communist society does not yet exist in Russia—that Russia is merely in a transition state, that the aim of the new school is to prepare a shift of warriors for the revolution, to train the builders of a new society, to produce capable organizers and firm revolutionaries. And he says in another place (page 193), "The preparation of the builders of a socialistic society and the



training of the warriors of communism constitute the aim of the educative process in our school." He also shows how a clearly defined aim determines the whole character of an educational program, citing ancient Sparta and the Jesuits as examples and adds, "The social significance and tremendous power of education may be assumed without further argument."

During my interviews with him, I pointed out the apparent discrepancy between his statement that a new society could not be brought about by their kind of education and the tremendous efforts that were being made in Russia to do this very thing. His reply was, "While education can bring improvement and growth in society, revolution or fundamental changes in social structure have always come in spite of the existing education and are likely always to do so. Yet even revolution *can be helped* by education. We do not want to perpetuate the present order, we want to abolish it and bring about a new order. But the elements of this new order are in our life to-day. Our students must understand the present order and realize that it is a step toward the future society which we are trying to build, a society in which there will be no exploiters. As to the details of that society, Lenin himself said that he would not prophesy. We only know what that new order shall be in general and that the approach to it is through a struggle with the capitalist and exploiter class within and without our country."

The place of the individual in the new society and in the school which is helping to bring the new order into being is entirely subordinate to the collective, that is, to the communist party or to the proletarian class. This sub-

ordination of the individual to the state differs from the somewhat analogous condition in Japan in that the individual is expected to be a participant in the making of the state and coequal with all other individuals, rather than an ideal subject of an emperor.

It was hard to make the leaders with whom I talked understand what I meant by a possible conflict between one's individual conscience and the demands of the collective. "The individual is a part of the collective," they would say. "If he is truly collectivistic in his thinking, there can be no conflict; if he is not collectivistic in his thinking we must so educate him that he will be."

The idea of a "still small voice within," which in some mystical way determines one's sense of right and wrong is, of course, totally at variance with communist thought. To quote Pinkevitch again, "We refuse to concede an absolute quality to moral evaluations." And Lenin said, "We deny any kind of morality which is taken from the non-human and non-class conception. . . . We say that our morality is entirely subservient to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat."

Differences of personal viewpoint, and of interpretation as to what constitutes the welfare of the mass exist, but the personal view must be subordinated to the decision of the majority. The distinction which is made between mere differences of opinion and fundamental, conscientious convictions by such people as Gandhi and many others quoted in this book, who leave room for the conscientious objector, is meaningless in a society and an educational system where right and wrong have no absolute values in terms of either external religious authority or inner in-

tuitive perception. They are rather matters of reason as to the best means of attaining universal human happiness and welfare.

Our question as to relative loyalty to one's own country or to the community of nations was also meaningless in Russia. Loyalty to their nation they do not teach. Their loyalty is to their class, to the revolution, to the communist ideal. Between the workers of Russia and of the other countries of the world they draw no national boundaries. Their aim is not Russian revolution but world revolution, not a Russian communist state but a communist state which is world wide.

The question as to whether history teaching should be objective or with a tendency had to be modified because history as such is not taught below the university level. Social science, which is an extremely vital part of the curriculum, is based on a study of contemporary society. Both social science and history, when it is taught, are, of course, taught from the standpoint of the class struggle and of a purely economic basis for history in which ideas and ideals are merely means of deluding the populace, never the real causes of historical events. There is something naïve about the calm and complete assurance of all communists that the Marxian approach to history is the only scientific approach—there just isn't any other way of looking at history if you are "scientific."

But since science, like art and morals, is subservient to the realization of the communist ideal, all social science and history are taught with this one dominating purpose in mind. I do not wish to imply that history is deliberately

falsified toward this end, but rather that all its emphasis and interpretation are positively oriented in this direction.

I asked Professor Pinkevitch whether he thought the time would ever come when both sides of various questions would be presented to the students with freedom for them to draw their own conclusions. For example, would the advantages of a capitalistic type of society ever be presented side by side with those of a communist society?

"Will the time come when you in America will teach the advantages and desirability of picking pockets side by side with the advantages of honesty, letting the children freely choose which is the better way of life?" he queried. "How could a workingman's government teach the 'advantages' of allowing workers to be exploited for the personal advantage of their exploiters?"

Freedom of discussion is characteristic of Russian schools to-day, indeed of all Russia. Russia is quite Oriental in her ability to get the maximum amount of conversation out of every incident. "The principal industry of Russia to-day," a German engineer in Kharkov said to me, "is talk!"

There are, however, limitations to discussion in school. The discussions deal with ways and means rather than ultimate ends. "I had one student," Professor Pinkevitch said, "who openly advocated a capitalistic form of society in class. He was permitted to air his views and in due time he graduated. But such incidents are very rare. The social pressure is too strong for most students to wish to express so unpopular a view."

I suppose that it is very much as if an American schoolman were asked whether there was freedom of discussion



in his schools as to the value of a return to the status of a colony of the British Crown, or more like such a question being put during the presidency of Washington or John Adams while the country still vividly remembered the war that had been fought to achieve independence.

On less fundamental questions there was a division of opinion as to the degree of freedom of discussion that should be allowed. In theory practically everyone advocated complete freedom. But when I selected, as an example, freedom to discuss whether Trotzky had been right or wrong, Professor Shulgren, for one, exclaimed, "We have no time now to allow pondering and anti talk; too big a construction is going on in Russia. The party is monolithic; there can be no opposition. But if we make mistakes we must try to study them. Self criticism is highly developed in Russia. We criticize everyone from the greatest man down."

"Even Lenin?" I inquired.

"There is no criticism of Lenin, for the critic is always found to be wrong," was the characteristic reply.

Professor Pinkevitch on the other hand was one of the advocates of real freedom of discussion in school and outside. The communist party, I believe, takes no stand against freedom of discussion but only against organized opposition to the party.

Like so many of the questions which I raised in other countries, my question as to child-centered versus society-centered education lost its significance in Russia. Children's lives are so intimately bound up with the social life of the

adult world around them that there is no line of demarcation.

This tie-up between the school and the vital activities of the community has characterized Russian education ever since the revolution. Political questions instead of being rather remote, abstract, and adult have been of such throbbing interest that even young children have been interested in them. This interest has been capitalized and intensified in the schools, which have sought not only to give the children a thoroughgoing communist political education but through them to help educate their parents, particularly in the rural districts.

The nation-wide drive for health and hygiene has been, for instance, carried on to a large extent through the schools. I can illustrate this best by an American example. Anyone familiar with Collings, *Experiment With A Project Curriculum*, will remember how the children in his experimental school (in Oklahoma) discovered the cause of recurring typhoid in a certain farmhouse, educated the farmer to a more sanitary arrangement of his outbuildings and made screens for his house. Much of their school work was centered around this community activity. It was not a forced or artificial project, nor a chance childish interest capitalized by the teacher, but a genuine and seriously important community problem. I suppose no one would question the profound educational value of work done by children in such close relationship to an actual life situation. It is extremely difficult for us in America, however, in our present condition of relative stability, with the adult world for the most part much more educated than the children in the schools, to find such vital work for children to do; therefore

such a situation as that just described is of very rare occurrence in American education. But in Russia, where vast numbers of workers and peasants have little more than the bare rudiments of literacy, when they have these, and where society is undergoing the most rapid transition in the world's history, such situations abound. Health, literacy, culture, social organization, political ideas flow from the school to the community and from the community into the school in a continuous current.

Perhaps the most important integration between school and society, however, is in connection with Russia's industrialization. This has been true to some extent from the beginning of the Soviet Union but is especially true since the autumn of 1930, when "politechnization" became the keynote of Russian education.

Gaisanovitch, who is probably the leading authority on this subject, said to me: "Up to 1930 the school was in two parts—theory and practice. The practical work was considered as a basis for theory rather than as an element in itself. The factories were used as a practical illustration for theoretical ideas rather than being made the basis of education.

"Our present plan of polytechnization has been reached by three stages:

"The first extended from 1917 to 1923. During this stage the work in the schools was largely domestic, dealing with the farm, home, food, etc., rather than with technical work. The greatest progress was made in the country districts, for there were more practical things for the children to do in connection with the farms.

"But by 1923 people began to realize that these domes-

tic activities were not fundamental and that for understanding all life, children must know the techniques of industrial work. This led to the second stage, lasting from 1923 to 1927, in which the theory of industry and labor was studied. It was made a basis for the study of natural sciences and of social sciences. But it was more a theoretical study of industry than practical work in it. During this stage there was also a tendency to neglect the practical work of the domestic sort.

"Then from 1927 to 1929 people talked a great deal about polytechnization—the altering of the content of all educational work on the basis of studies connected with production and the participation of children in productive and social work.<sup>1</sup> There was very little actual carrying out of the program during this period but there was much writing and thinking and a strong stream of influence toward the movement. This constituted the third stage.

"Since the fall of 1930, while there has been a continuation of the discussion, we have also begun the actual reorganization of the schools on a polytechnical basis.

"Polytechnization recognizes that while modern industry involves a high degree of specialization, there are at the same time, certain principles common to all industries. Every child must have vocational training during the latter years of his education and this involves a technical specialization, but polytechnization attempts to give children from the kindergarten on through their entire school life an understanding of the typical scientific basis of all industries.

"You must understand that industries include farm work. Modern farming is done with machinery which uses

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Shastoff's phraseology.



the same principles as are found in mines and factories. Industrial chemistry, mechanics, and use of energy—these three bases for all forms of industrial work are also the bases for industrial farming.

“Since the big political congress in 1930 when the question of universal polytechnization was discussed, we have discontinued the futile effort to give a smattering of industrial training in all branches and are concentrating our training upon the foundation principles of all industry.

“This is also a departure from Kerschensteiner’s ideas of work as the basis of education because with Kerschensteiner, handwork was the basis, while we feel that the true basis in the modern world is mechanics, chemistry and energy.

“Is theoretical work in physics, mathematics, etc., of no importance? These subjects are important only in so far as they are directly related to industry. All their other phases shall be thrown out in favor of those which will enable students to understand the underlying principles which are identical in metal industries, mining industries, textile industries, industrialized farming, etc.

“We would build school chemical laboratories to show the common principles underlying all types of modern industrial machinery, and our laboratories for energetics to show the principles of heating, electricity, etc. This is the main element of the theory of polytechnization.

“In the practice of polytechnization, each school is attached to some industry, factory, or industrialized farm. Already about 80 per cent of the schools in the U.S.S.R. have such connections.”

The schools of Russia above the “pre-school” level are

in three stages, the seven-year common school consisting of a four-year step from the age of eight to twelve and a three-year step to the age of fifteen or sixteen, followed by some form of secondary school, two or three years in length. During all three of these stages, the attachment to a particular industry is of basic importance.

The relations of the school to the factory are of several types. First of all the shop and laboratory organization and work are largely influenced by the type of industrial plant to which the school is attached. An elementary school which we visited in Odessa, for instance, was attached to a factory that made tin boxes. The work in the school shop consequently was largely centered around sheet metal. Had the school been attached to an agricultural industry the work would have been centered around farming, fertilizers and farm machinery.

When children make things in school shops, they make them as nearly as possible along the lines of the best present industrial practice. Thus if they build a playhouse the structural principles used will be the same as those used in building real houses or factories.

A second and more vital relationship between school and industry is based on the many visits of the children to the factory or farm. They watch their parents and other workers at their daily tasks and use this study of the factory as a basis for much of their school work.

The industrial principles and forms of machinery in the parent factory are a foundation for their study of such principles in general. To prevent this work from being too narrowly specialized, the children make excursions to other factories and especially to other types of

industry. City children must visit industrialized farms; country children must visit urban factories.

The attempt of the industry to which the school is attached is to accomplish its quota of work under the Five Year Plan as a whole, and that in turn involves the study of the entire economic and political life of Russia.

The social organization of the factory or farm is to some extent duplicated in the school. In the factory there is social competition between groups of workers within the factory and between that factory and others; so there is social competition between groups of children and between their school and others as to the amount of school and social work they can accomplish. In the factory there is a red board on which are inscribed by committees of workers the names of those whose achievement is outstandingly fine from the standpoint of helping the general organization and morale of the factory; and there is a black board for the names of those who have been slackers. So in the schools one finds similar red and black boards—an old enough and pedagogically questionable device. In the factory there are “shock brigades”—volunteer groups of workers who take on themselves special responsibility for developing morale and increasing production; so the schools too have their shock brigades of pupils with the same function.

In the third place the school does social work in the factories. This has several aspects. Primarily it consists of encouraging the workers to reach or exceed their quota of production under the Five Year Plan. The fact that the children are watching the production figures continuously and using them as a basis for much of their mathematics enables them to egg the workers on if they are slumping, to

cheer them with their approval if they are doing well. I asked whether the workers did not sometimes resent this sort of thing coming from children, frequently their own offspring, but was told that they usually took it better from the children than from adults and were gratified by the importance given to their work through its being made so vital a part of education.

Another aspect of the children's social work in the factory is political and social education. The children bring word of what they have been learning in school, of the most recent occurrences and of the plans of the Soviet Union. They spread communist doctrines, they make fun of religious festivals and observances and deride workers who absent themselves from the factory (or farm) on church holidays.

The children also carry the hygienic ideas learned in school to the factory workers. They participate actively in the campaign against drinking.

A fourth kind of relationship consists of practical helpfulness on the part of the children toward the factory. The children in the Odessa school to which I have referred gathered old iron from all over the city to be used in the tin box factory, as was very tangibly but not too esthetically evidenced by a large heap of scrap iron in the school yard. Committees of children attempt to make themselves useful in any ways that occur to them or to the factory workers in helping the factory to accomplish its task.

The relationship between school and industrial plant is however reciprocal. The factory is sponsor for the school. It furnishes the school lunches; it helps to equip the school—particularly its shop and laboratory. Its workers may help



in the school shop. They answer the children's questions and instruct them during their factory visits.

All these relationships between industry and school occur during the first four years of school life and continue in slightly modified form through all three stages of elementary and secondary education and even in the higher technical education of university level.

Children of the second step (twelve to fifteen or sixteen years of age) of the common school, supplement the work in the school shop with actual factory or farm labor. They spend three or four hours a day three days out of ten as regular workers. This is not primarily for vocational training although, of course, many of the children will, on finishing school, work in the same industry to which they have had so close a relationship. The real purpose, however, is to give them the *feel* of industrial work, an understanding of division of labor, specialization, and factory discipline, such as can only come about through actual participation in industry.

The third stage of education, the two or three year secondary school, is dominantly vocational. At this point the children must select the field in which they wish to labor and between the ages of fifteen and eighteen become skillful in that field. Even here, however, the broader aspects of polytechnical education are not neglected. The specialized worker must see those principles which are common to his specialty and to industry in general and must see his job in its broad social and economic setting.

It would be out of place here to describe the various types of secondary school—factory school, farm school, continuation school, etc.—and the higher technical education

in various institutes, corresponding in level to university work. Neither is it necessary to speak of the special seminars for teacher training which are essential if the teachers are to make the most of the industrial basis for education. The purpose of the rather detailed description of polytechnization here given has been to show the intimate relation between child life and adult life in Russia to-day, a relationship so intimate that the question of the child-centered school loses its American significance.

In one sense the school is exclusively society centered. The problems and activities of contemporary adult Russian society form the entire basis of polytechnical education. But the child's life is so intimately integrated with the life of society and industry that his education has the vitality and immediate interest which are the *raison d'être* of the child-centered school.

To quote Gaisanovitch again: "The purpose of polytechnization is not merely to give the child familiarity with technical industry as such but also to give him an understanding of his parents and other workers and of contemporary society as a whole. Even this is not all: he is made to feel that he himself is a part of a productive society, that he is actually helping to build it up. We are trying to give him the will and the feeling of making the new Russia as well as technical ability to participate in its work. We are trying to establish a basis for his political and economic thinking, to make him a part of the development that is now going on in Russia. Our new intelligentsia are not to be people who are primarily familiar with philosophy and other abstract things but people who have a thorough understanding of the industrial basis of present society,

who unite theory and practice and not only understand the laws of industry and science but are able to use them in practical, everyday life.

"This is not a mere revision of some small part of the old school but a fundamental reorganization. Just as in the middle ages theology was the foundation of all teaching, then later the humanities and the classics, then science and mathematics in the Realgymnasium, and recently hand-work in a few new schools, so now in Russia, polytechnization is the fundamental basis on which the entire educational system is built."

So much for polytechnization.

Our final question had to do, it will be remembered, with mental hygiene or child adjustment. This subject we found had been given almost no consideration in any of the countries in the Near or Far East. In Turkey we learned of one person who was beginning to work in this field in Istanbul. But when we reached Russia, we found that as a part of pedology, it was not only receiving thoughtful attention but was being made an important element in the social and educational program.

Our principal information concerning this type of work in Russia was obtained from Professor Zalkind in Moscow. He said: "Every teacher must know the whole child from a psychoneurological standpoint which embraces anatomy, physiology and psychology. During this course we try to train the teacher not only in an understanding of the problem child but in sexual pedagogy and the organization of the child's school work according to the bodily changes which he is undergoing.

"Work with problem children in Russia is different from such work in other countries. Often they are geniuses; therefore they are kept in groups of normal children as long as possible—environment plays such a big part in the development of the child.

"We divide our problem children into two categories: biological and social. The biological group includes those with organic defects of body or brain. The social group, which is much larger, consists of those whose problems arise from the environment and can therefore usually be helped through a modification of the environment.

"Even the biological group can often be helped materially by environmental changes. Membership in such organizations as the Young Pioneers frequently does wonders for them. New methods of treating them make them over and often raise their intelligence quotients.

"We do not place much stock in the validity of the I.Q. in Russia. Close observation of the whole child does far more good than an intelligence test. The improvement in a child of low I.Q. may not be observable through a mental test but will show itself in his participation in out-of-school activities and in the manner of his work in the shop.

"Only two per cent of all children have actually low I.Q.'s. Half of these are traceable to biological defects, the other half to functional mental deficiency which may in some cases be the result of the hard times succeeding the revolution. We have opportunity schools for about four thousand such children.

"For the much larger number of problem children, classified as social problems, various phases of our educa-



tional program are found to be helpful. The program of polytechnization helps. Useful labor helps. Then, too, we study the children's interests and try to see where and how to change them. Perhaps the most important thing, however, is the right environment, such as is provided by the Young Pioneers' communes."

Our minds flashed back to the commune we had visited a day or two before in Moscow. Here thirty or forty boys and girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen live coöperatively and without adult supervision. One woman cooks for them, but the children prepare the vegetables and wash the dishes. They take entire care of the house—we saw one squad on their hands and knees scrubbing the floor; the house was immaculate. They are entirely self-disciplined, but a group of Young Pioneers has a general responsibility for developing the right spirit among them. Certainly their spirit was everything one could ask—free, natural, friendly, coöperative, enthusiastic.

We saw Harry Eisman there—an American boy who had been sent to a reform school in New York for his communist activities in the public schools and who then continued his propaganda in the reform school. Finally, at his request, he was deported, and now was reveling in Russian communism. He was certainly happy and a thoroughly socialized member of the commune. He was a hero in the eyes of the other children as a "victim of capitalist tyranny" and an authority on America—as seen from the East Side of New York and a reform school! "Harry," we remonstrated, "you show these children only one side of the story. You show only the communist side." "No I don't," he averred, "I show the communist side, how the workers are exploited

by the capitalists, and the capitalist side, how the capitalists exploit the workers!" But onesided as the commune is, like all things Russian, it is a healthy and stimulating environment for adolescent youngsters, and we could well believe that just as the slightly analogous George Junior Republics in America have done wonders for delinquents, such a commune might indeed transform some of the "social problem" children of Russia.

Zalkind continued: "A resolution at the Congress on Problem Children at Leningrad, from which I have just returned, states that low I.Q.'s are the result of static teachers and a static environment which fail to stimulate the child. Change these and the I.Q. can go from 70 up to 105.

"During the next two years, we shall send six thousand pedologists out to help the schools by studying the problem children, their families, the communes, etc. The pedologists will plan the school programs of these children and will teach the teachers.

"A second type of aid consists of removing children from a school in which they do not fit and placing them in a suitable and helpful environment—a forest school, an opportunity school, or a labor commune such as the Young Pioneers' commune you visited.

"There is a tremendous need for adequately trained teachers in Russia and we are making a great effort to furnish such training. As I said before, the teachers have much pedology and case study during their training course. It is also essential to see that the teacher himself has a philosophy of life—political, social, and sexual—which will keep him well balanced. A new science—we call it *dedas-*

cology—is being developed in Russia to study the teacher and his needs.

“In the course of our liquidation of illiteracy among parents, we are able to show them what we are doing for the children in the schools and to work toward their intelligent coöperation. We have conferences with the parents right in the common schools and in the factory schools. Just yesterday four hundred workers in one of our factories here in Moscow had pedology explained to them so that they as parents would help the school and urge improvement in it.

“Consultation centers are new here in Russia but we already have one in each of the ten districts of Moscow and there are even more in Leningrad where the movement began. Our plan is first to have a pedological center in each region (province) and then one in each district (a smaller unit, intermediate between the township and the county in America). You will find them now in forty of our big industrial cities. And a number of our medical clinics give vocational guidance and have prophylactic laboratories in which preventive work is done.

“The typical staff of a pedological center consists of four persons—a physician, an educator, a pedologist, and a secretary. It is equipped with tests, instruments for measurements, and a room with games and amusement devices.

“All the leaders in the field of education here are agreed as to the vital importance of children’s emotional development. It plays a big rôle in our social, political and sex education. Our general social background for the child is an important part of it. Both Marx and Lenin saw the importance of an education of the emotions.”

There is no question but that in Russia, not only in the field of mental hygiene but in that of education in general, there is a clearer vision as to the aims of education and a more thorough-going effort toward the achievement of these aims than in any other part of the world. We may disagree with some of the aims. I personally feel that there is far too much indoctrination and far too little scope for the development of free thinking individuals, that much of what they call scientific thinking is dogmatic in the extreme, a curious admixture of the middle nineteenth century type of positivistic materialism, of reaction from the primitiveness of the social conditions of Czarist Russia, and of modern engineering principles applied to all walks of life. But as an example of what can be done in recreating human society through organized, well thought out education toward a definitely envisaged goal, Russia is an inspiring example to the rest of the world.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### POLAND

IT is strange what a difference the crossing of an imaginary line can make. Although much of Poland was until a dozen years ago a part of the Russian Empire, the line which separates the two countries now is a line between two utterly different civilizations and social orders. From the standpoint of the traveler Poland is a great relief. Prices suddenly drop to a fraction of what they are in Russia. There is an air of peaceful, settled beauty in the countryside. The cities are clean and have ample transportation facilities—one no longer has to fight to get into a street car. One begins to get real service of the most courteous kind on trains and in hotels and restaurants—"the degrading servility imposed upon the proletariat by their capitalist exploiters," the communists would probably call it; but from the standpoint of the person served, it is most pleasant.

Poland has emerged from her long period of partition and national non-existence with a strongly nationalistic feeling. She was, it will be remembered, a kingdom under a Saxon dynasty before her partial loss of independence at the time Kosciusko was helping America in her war for independence; and following Kosciusko's unsuccessful attempt at revolution in the 1790's, she was ignominiously parti-

tioned among her three neighbors, Russia, Austria, and Germany, Russia coming in for the lion's share.

During the entire nineteenth century the three imperial powers which controlled Poland did their best to denationalize the people. Efforts to keep alive the Polish traditions, language, and culture were suppressed and had to be carried on through secret societies. While after 1869 Austria adopted a fairly liberal policy and permitted instruction in the Polish language in her section of the country, Prussia vigorously tried to Germanize her share of Poland. After the Franco-Prussian war no teaching of the Polish language or in the Polish language was permitted in either private or public schools. In 1902 an order was issued that even religion must be taught in German. This caused the school children to strike.

Russia, after 1861, allowed elementary education in the Polish language but provided fewer educational facilities than did either Germany or Austria.

Throughout this period, however, Polish patriotism smoldered, waiting for a chance to burst into flame. The World War gave it its opportunity. A Polish Legion was organized under Marshal Pilsudski and fought first on one side and then on the other, having Polish independence as its ultimate goal. Paderewski worked on the political side in Europe and America. The consequence was that Poland won her national independence at the peace table in Versailles.

Then followed a stormy period. Communism within the borders was repressed and Russian invasion was repulsed. But the people, habituated to an attitude of revolt against the dominating foreign governments, found it dif-

ficult to submit to their own. The wranglings of parliament finally so outraged Marshal Pilsudski that he marched on Warsaw with the army and forced parliament's temporary dismissal. He has been Poland's virtual dictator and idol ever since. We were often assured, however, that instead of trying to increase his personal power, he is bending his efforts toward a more truly democratic régime.

In the thick of warfare and political dissention, bleeding and impoverished from the World War, Poland had to try to create a national educational system. As one looks at her modern school buildings, her normal training courses, her variety of educational facilities, from nursery schools to universities, it seems incredible that so much could have been done in a decade. She inherited from Russia a population seventy per cent illiterate in the greatest part of her territory. In German Poland she inherited some schools but no teachers—they had all retired to Germany with the German army. Only in Austria's fifth of Poland was there an ample supply of trained teachers.

From a pre-war condition in which only nineteen per cent of the children of elementary school age were in school, by 1927 Poland had provided schooling for ninety per cent. In the same period college and university enrollment increased from 12,000 to nearly 43,000 students. Poland's educational achievement cannot fail to inspire enthusiastic admiration.

Educational aims have had to be more definitely considered by Poland than by countries which have developed their educational systems more gradually. They have been markedly influenced, like those of Turkey, by the thinking, methods, and standards of her western neighbors. Let

me quote a few passages from a booklet issued by the Polish Minister of Education:

The aim of each school is to train the young generation into citizens, physically and morally healthy, socially responsible, and showing initiative in performing their civic duties. . . . Apart from instruction, the Polish elementary school lays great weight on civic education and on true citizenship not only toward the native country but also toward the family of nations. . . . The general principles underlying the official curriculum consist in mastering superficiality, distraction, and verbalism, and aiming at concentration and profoundness of knowledge.

Ideals of method characteristic of the newer and more progressive types of teaching are officially emphasized:

All instruction is built up on the main principle of the pupil's personal work and of his active attitude toward it. . . . This plan battles against bookish and verbal ways of teaching where only the teacher is active and the pupil learns his lesson from the textbook or repeats the exposition of his teacher; this plan requires the pupil to gain a direct and personal contact with the facts, to have his deeper interest aroused by them; it requires also a special organization of such personal and active work. . . . This point of view must produce a reduction of the didactic forms of expositions and lectures, introducing instead personal research; hence the great significance of laboratory exercises and handicraft.



Poland attaches great importance to education and to her educational program. This is deliberately symbolized in the beautiful building constructed for the Ministry of Education in Warsaw, by far the most beautiful building of the sort in any of the countries we visited. It is also reflected in the fact that Poland's Minister of Education is not a mere politician as in most countries of the world, but is a professional educator with real ideas. It was with him, in his spacious and artistic office, that we had one of our first interviews.

The minister is Dr. Czervinski Stawomir. He said:

"You are making your trip at a time of transition in our educational aims. We are now forming unified national aims and combating the aims which existed previous to the war.

"We must have well-developed individuals—the state depends upon them. As to social structure, we have no definite doctrine as the Bolshevists have. We want rather to have a society which bases its culture on justice and which grows naturally through evolution and not through revolution. We wish to attain our ideal of justice through social legislation and education. Through legislation we should like to enable everyone to satisfy his racial and economic needs. Through our educational system we wish to provide opportunities of learning to the great mass of our people. Two-thirds of our educational budget goes toward primary education to elevate the impoverished and backward masses of Poland.

"The good of the individual consists in the good of the state. Poland knows all too well what becomes of individual rights and opportunities when the state loses its power. The

individual must make sacrifices for the state but such sacrifices are to his own ultimate interest. Even if there is a collision between the exigencies and demands of the state and the profound conscientious convictions of the individual, he must submit—otherwise we would be authorizing revolution.

“Freedom of speech I would allow, but not of action. If, for example, a deputy in parliament, who of course has absolute freedom of speech, should begin to organize a factory along communistic lines, the state should certainly repress his actions. I would even carry freedom of speech into the school although this is contrary to the opinion of some of our people. To try to force a child to adopt an opinion is a poor educational method. It cannot lead to any sound results. Let us lead the children toward our opinion rather through persuasion and discussion and even through showing something of opposite points of view. But the teacher should know toward what opinion he is trying to lead the children and this opinion should harmonize in essentials with what is officially sanctioned. This is especially true in state schools where the teacher must inculcate loyalty to the state.

“I do not mean that all criticism should be repressed. Children and teachers alike should be free to examine and question some of our laws or such secondary phases of our constitution as our method of selecting a president. But they must not question essential things which have to do with the safety of the state, such as the value of bearing arms in case of war.

“In the teaching of history our first aim is truth. There are, however, vast quantities of facts, and in choosing

among them, we may legitimately select those which will be of value to the state and to the individual. We can show what historical occurrences have been to the advantage of the state and which ones have led to loss and harm. And we surely may show the sacrifices that have been made for the state by our great men.

"We should not cover up the faults of the state or its heroes. A true picture of a hero makes him more human and real to the child. But we should emphasize his value.

"Differences between national interests and international interests are theoretical. The well-being of any state depends on the coöperation of all the nations. Poland is in the happy situation of seeing very plainly its interdependence with the community of nations. We are too small to be tempted by dreams of imperialism. Our national aims are of the kind which are of value to all humanity—freedom of commerce, disarmament, peace, and the advancement of culture and justice.

"The individual serves humanity best by being a good citizen of his own country.

"In organizing our curriculum I would follow the society-centered route. We have a prescribed state program for all schools and in general it must be followed. Our aims in this program are based upon the demands of adult society but we should like to base our methods upon the study of the psychology, activities and interests of the child. We therefore encourage experimentation with the project method, Dalton Plan, and the methods of Montessori, Decroly, etc. We should like to develop child-centered methods of approaching society-centered aims."

With us during our interview with the minister, and

acting as our principal guide in finding the most influential of Poland's educational thinkers, was B. Kielski, Chief of Section in the Ministry.

"Our ideals are much closer to the Japanese than to the others you describe," Kielski said. "That is to say, we wish to continue and perfect our present type of society. Of course that is a very different kind of society from Japan's. With us the basic thing is to inculcate the democratic ideal. You know that we have abolished our aristocracy—there are no more titles of rank in Poland. We wish to develop the spirit of nationalism but not one of chauvinism."

"When you say you wish to perpetuate the present social order, do you include capitalism?" I asked.

"Well, of course, there are some socialists and a few communists in Poland but I am not in favor of their ideas, and active propaganda for communism is forbidden by law.

"Individualism has been one of the characteristics of the Polish people. Some of our historians maintain that the decadence of Poland was due to too much individualism. We therefore would now try to train our children to subordinate their personal wishes—yes and even their conscientious convictions—to the state's demands. Remember that Poland for a century and a half was divided into three distinct parts. Remember that thirty-eight per cent of our population belongs to different minorities—Ruthenian, Jewish, German, Russian, etc. We must get national unity.

"The teaching of history should be objective and truthful. I believe we can rest our case upon the truth and trust to it without coloring our history. The teacher should, of course, utilize some of the glorious things of our past to point out lessons. For a thousand years, for example, we



have never waged an aggressive war. This ideal of peace is one which we can well afford to emphasize. Similarly our national history shows that we have always been tolerant. We have never had a religious war, and when Jews were being persecuted in all other parts of Europe, we gave them refuge—that is why we have so many within our boundaries to-day. Such things can be emphasized by the teacher and used for instilling ideals of peace and tolerance without sacrificing historical objectivity.”

Kielski's attitude on discussion was even more liberal than that of the minister. He favored complete freedom of discussion on all questions, no matter how contentious, in the higher schools. “I should not attempt such discussion, however, below the age of fourteen,” he qualified. “Remember that our schools are in an early stage of development, especially out in the country, and that neither our teachers nor our pupils in the country schools are ready to handle contemporary problems adequately.

“Where there is discussion the teacher should avoid influencing the children toward any one point of view. He should correct mistakes in fact and flaws in logic but let the children learn to think their problems through for themselves.

“We should like to Americanize our schools by making them more practical. By this I do not mean that all education should be vocational; but we should have more shop work. We have not yet reorganized our education in general as much as we should like. We should like to develop the child's individuality and his power to find out things for himself rather than bother him with things not related to his own life as a child. As far as possible, I would not

favor giving a child instruction for which he does not feel a personal need. Yet if there is a skill which he will obviously need as an adult and which he can easily master, like ability to spell correctly, I would have him learn it whether or not his interests and activities impel him to do so."

Krakow is an older city than Warsaw, quainter, and almost as beautiful. The countryside around it with its stony cliffs, its wooded hills, its rushing streams, and its ancient castles, is fascinating. And educationally Krakow has a long history of achievement. The university there dates back to the fourteenth century.

In this old center of Polish culture perhaps the most influential man in educational affairs is Dr. Mieczyslaw Ziemnowicz. Genial, hospitable and possessed of a good sense of humor, he knows Polish education well and wields much power from his position in charge of all secondary education for that section of the country. Until recently he was in charge of teacher training for the same region. We had had a delightful visit with him in America and steered our course toward Krakow partly to return his visit.

"We have won our independence," Ziemnowicz said, "and through education and every other means we will perpetuate and enforce it.

"Our education must join us with our past and enable us to fulfill our historic mission as the link between the East and the West. We were the bulwark of Christianity and the pioneer of democracy. Now Russia is powerful and does not need our influence, and Christianity no longer needs imperialistic methods of spreading over the world. We can, therefore, seek to develop our own idea of exist-

ence. This is, first, to be a democracy with equality for all social classes and the absence of special privileges. Second, we wish to establish a new order of life for our minorities, friendly but centripetal, giving each minority its rights but not losing our national unity. In the third place we must be the bulwark of western culture, of the capitalistic system, standing against the inroads of Bolshevism.

“Under the division of Poland we had three systems of education. Now we must create one type of education to build one type of citizen. We want to create the best educational system in the world, looking over the various countries to see what each can contribute to it. On one side we are influenced by the Bolshevik trends of Russia, on the other side by the nationalist trends of Germany. It is now necessary for us to find a middle course between the ultra progressiveness of Russian education and society and the nationalism of western Europe.

“Our slogan is uniformity of schools, accessibility and free instruction for all children. We have realized this goal for the seven grades of the elementary school but are only approaching it in secondary education.

“In our internal organization we are giving a good deal of attention to methods. We want activity of the pupils in all subjects. There should be no instruction without experiments and personal experience on the part of each child.

“We are having great trouble with our curriculum. We want to be part of western culture and to give our children the information demanded in all the western countries so that our standards will be as high as theirs. Here we have felt the influence of German culture. The tendency is to give the pupil something of all the good things created by

humanity; therefore history, tradition, and past literature play a great rôle in our curriculum. This makes it inelastic and obligatory for all pupils in the same grade. We feel now that we have reached a crisis in the old curriculum and conception of culture, but we tend to perfect the present program while seeking new ideals.

“Historically the Polish nation has had a tendency toward humanistic studies and toward art rather than toward economic life. Now, however, our ministry is trying to develop appreciation of vocational work. I am to-day opening a week of propaganda for the vocational schools. We have a wide variety of them, but the number is inadequate. We must strengthen our vocational work and convince the people that Poland cannot exist without economic independence. Our mines and agriculture give us a broad basis for our industries. We must make our students realize that an education for the development of Poland’s economic life is at least as worthy of respect as a classical education.

“We are living among states where the state organization is considered more valuable than the individual. This is especially true in Russia and Italy and to some extent in Germany. The Polish tendency is to conform to the ideal of these other states and to strengthen the state organization. While our traditional attitude is that the individual is free and has the right to try to build the state according to his own conceptions, we have learned through our history that our state organization must be made equal to that of our neighbors. The reason we lost our independence was the disproportion between our social development and state organization and those of Russia and Prussia. Our



first step after achieving independence was, therefore, to give unlimited power to the nation, to make it the ruler of all and the source of all power.

"In regard to our nationalism, it is thanks only to our national spirit that we exist. A century and a half of dependency could not stamp it out. It should be one of the main factors of Polish life. On the other hand our history and tradition have taught us tolerance—national tolerance, religious tolerance, and a cosmopolitan outlook. This spirit of tolerance shows itself in our treatment of our minorities who are given equal rights politically and educationally with the Poles."

Dr. Ziemnowicz differed in his personal opinion from the minister and Kielski as to the right of the individual to follow his conscience against the state. He said, "In my own opinion I should favor the development of the ideal of sticking to one's inner convictions and if necessary going to prison for them."

He agreed with the minister, however, as to the desirability of objective history, but with a strong emphasis on Polish history and heroes rather than too diffuse a cosmopolitanism. His attitude on discussion was similar to Kielski's, favoring complete freedom even to the inclusion of discussions of communism above the age of fourteen. But like the minister he felt that the teacher should influence the discussion toward the official point of view. "We must teach the children the essentials of all these problems so that they may see all sides as, for example, that Russian communism may not be perfect. It is impossible to control the views of the teacher, but we ask him always to present the point of view of the state so that the children

will conclude that our system is the best. We ask teachers who cannot conscientiously advocate the official viewpoint either to avoid the problem or to leave the staff."

On all other questions Ziemnowicz's point of view did not differ materially from that of the ministry. Mental hygiene he considered as mainly necessary for abnormal children and therefore a luxury for development at some future time.

A more incisive thinker, although a man with perhaps less widespread influence in Polish education, was Professor Dyboski, dean at the University of Krakow. "What the school must do," he said, "is dictated by the country's condition. Our change from imperialism to democracy is changing the whole educational idea. Now we must educate the peasants. We must also educate outstanding personalities and have a broader élite. The changes which have been coming about through social growth we are continuing through education.

"Many people are struggling for an education for which they are not organically fit. Their goal is often a soft state job. [I was reminded of the similar situation in China, India, and Iraq.] We must make education in all schools equally good and must provide all branches of education to meet the needs of all types of students.

"We must educate our people in a sense of law. Poland has built up a revolutionary attitude during more than a century of captivity. Now we must have law-abiding citizens who realize that the state is themselves. Pilsudski was a law-breaker because of circumstances and is now surprised to find himself a law-maker.

"Poland has always had strong individualists; so we

need not fear that the state can go too far in repressing them. Our stress now must be on the social viewpoint.

"We need more of the hard facts of history hammered into the children's heads to give them a framework for forming opinions. Let the child realize that the community to which it belongs is important and stands for something in the world. Make him proud of Copernicus and other famous Poles. We don't want our children to have an inferiority complex in regard to Poland's position among nations. Their own nation is the point from which they must look out at the rest of the world."

As to teaching the faults as well as the virtues of the nation and its heroes, Dyboski says:

"There is in Krakow a group of historians which stands for teaching the faults of Poland and her heroes. But we must also teach the comforting facts. There must be a right proportion. Great men are not only great but also men. There is, however, the question of the student's age. The child is a poet and not a realist; so there is a place for legends in the elementary school.

"In our secondary schools we teach civics and contemporary politics. This, of course, leads to discussion. It is dangerous though because Polish youths have political passions. Reading partisan newspapers and the violently partisan speeches of our politicians leads them to have strongly biased opinions. Vehement political arguments are their favorite sport. The remedy lies in the English system. Let us teach our children parliamentary forms and politeness and civility in debate. Let them learn dignity.

"Of course we must discuss communism in the schools—it is at our doors. But we must take a large view of all cur-

rent questions rather than discuss the daily occurrences reported in our newspapers.

"A teacher would not be a teacher if he did not influence children's opinions. When, however, he finds himself at variance with the government in power, he must exercise tact and restraint. He can be sincere, yet prudently silent. Since he is paid by the government he must not teach things which are opposed to the government. The teacher should not impose dogmas, but should influence through his personality."

One feels that there is considerable similarity between Poland and Turkey both as to problems and as to educational aims. Both countries have had to rebuild their entire educational system since the World War. Both have had to attempt to educate a great, illiterate mass of peasants. Both have been predominately agricultural and are trying to develop economic independence through industrialization. Both are strongly nationalistic, although Poland has perhaps a more cosmopolitan outlook than Turkey. Both are greatly influenced by the educational methods and standards of France and Germany. Both have set their faces strongly against communism.

The greatest difference between the two countries is that while Turkey keeps all questions of religion out of education, Poland gives more recognition to religion in the public school than does any other country we visited. All through the elementary and secondary schools two hours a week of religious education is compulsory. Where there is a sufficient minority to justify it, to be sure, other religions may be taught, but religious instruction in most schools



means Roman Catholicism. Nowhere are church and state less separated than in Poland. Germany has religious education. It is also compulsory in Austria and Italy. But I doubt if in any of these countries the dominant influence of the church is felt with anything like the power that it is in Poland.

## CHAPTER NINE

### GERMANY

WHEN we were first in Germany in the winter of 1922-23, Germany was in the midst of a terrific economic crisis; the value of the mark was dropping to almost nothing. And it happened that when we were there in the summer of 1931, it was again a time of crisis. Banks were closed, strong restrictions were placed on the export of German currency and everyone was waiting with bated breath to see the results of President Hoover's proposal of a postponement of Germany's reparation payments.

Perhaps, therefore, our sense of struggle and uncertainty in Germany is unduly intense. But it seemed like watching the questionable convalescence of a patient with a remarkably strong constitution, attempting to recuperate from an almost mortal illness. Nowhere except in Austria did we feel so much doubt on the part of the people as to what the future held in store for them.

We were told that there would soon be six million unemployed in Germany. The suffering and despair of the world-be workers was so great that they tended to ally themselves with any extreme party that gave promise of some sort of change—any change would be a relief. The demagogue Hitler was increasing his power with startling speed while at the other extreme the communists were making

the most of the contrast between Russia's entire lack of unemployment and capitalist Germany's inability to give work to her people. The general feeling on the part of those with whom we talked seemed to be that unless some remarkable change for the better took place, Hitler would become a fascist dictator of Germany and that the reaction from this would be a communist revolution.

As I write, the situation is still grave and unsettled. Whether or not the present constitutional government succeeds in weathering the storm, the effect of its imminent danger upon the psychology of the people is bound to be reflected in their education.

As is well known, German education before the war was efficiently autocratic. Its aims were toward the discipline of the individual and the perpetuation and spread of German culture. Loyal service to the empire, technical efficiency, and scholarly thoroughness were marked characteristics of the old education.

After the World War and the German Revolution there was a period of reaction against the old methods, leading to such drastic educational experiments as that of the schools in Hamburg. There, it will be remembered, the teachers refrained from any imposition of ideas or curriculum upon the children. "We do not know what the future holds for Germany," they said, "whether it will be a democracy or a monarchy, communistic or capitalistic, or whether it will evolve some entirely new social order. All we know is that each child has certain inborn potentialities. Let us see that these are developed fully and freely, unwarped by the limited ideas of the present or by the teacher's ideas as to

the future. Perhaps a race of individuals so developed can find a solution for the problems that baffle us."

But the pendulum naturally swung back and by 1931 the tendency was more moderate. The extreme experiments had served their purpose in uprooting many old traditions and making educators face their problems afresh, and the new education in Germany marched forward, if not with the breath-taking speed of the earlier years, at least with sure progress.

There is enough similarity or relationship among the ideas of the various Germans whom we interviewed to justify a partially synthetic account of Germany's educational ideals. Therefore let us first sketch briefly the personalities through whom these ideals are expressed.

The youngest, and in some respects the most conservative, is Dr. Eric Weniger, principal of the Teachers' Training College in Hamburg. Several people spoke of him as the coming man in German education. His most marked characteristic is his attempt to unify seemingly opposite points of view rather than to choose between them. As he puts it: "In theory there may be a question of 'this *or* that.' But in reality one can and should find the unity of the two viewpoints—I don't mean that one should just lay the two opposites together, but rather that one should find wherein they really have things in common. I don't say everyone is right but rather that one should find the common ground, the common interest. I don't make a compromise but try to find the actual connection that exists."

Similar in some of his ideas, but a much older man, is Edward Spranger of Berlin. Spranger is one of the best known of German educators. He is the author of such



books as *Kultur und Erziehung*, *Das Deutsche Bildungsideal der Gegenwart*, *Die Verschulung Deutschlands*, *Psychologie des Jugendalters*, and is one of the editors of *Die Erziehung*, "a monthly journal concerning the interdependence between culture and education in science and life." In short, he is a typical German scholar, intensely active yet thoughtful and friendly. While many of his ideas harmonized with those of the other men we interviewed, he seemed to feel that they were not characteristic of the Germany of the present moment.

Another eminent educator in Berlin is Professor Carl H. Becker, former Minister of Education and likewise a scholar and an author of books on the educational situation in Germany, on secondary education, and on teacher training. He delivered recently the Sachs lectures at Teachers College, Columbia University. He is a man of maturity and balance, a historian by profession.

Fritz Karsen is a practical schoolman, an idealist who puts his ideals into practice in a large, experimental school in Berlin. He too has visited America—I remember how very human and likeable he was when he went swimming with a group of our teachers in Winnetka. One feels in him the child lover as well as the thinker.

At the University of Hamburg is Professor Flitner, rather young, outspoken, thinking well beneath the surface of things, a believer in the freedom of the teacher.

In Dresden is Dr. Robert Ulich, perhaps the most incisive thinker we met in Germany. He is also rather young, but occupies an important position in the Ministry of Education. Like Weniger he attempts a synthesis between the individual and social viewpoints wherever possible but he

is less nationalistic. He is not a Bolshevist, but he has a famous Russian wife and feels that there is much Russia can teach Germany. Like most German scholars, he bases his thinking on the philosophies of Kant, Fichte, Goethe and Schiller.

On the fringe of this group of German educators is Dr. Elizabeth Rotten, editor of *Das Werdende Zeitalter*, and one of the founders, with Beatrice Ensor of England and Adolph Ferrière of Switzerland, of The New Education Fellowship. She is an indefatigable worker, a rebel against all traditional forms, very positive in her own thinking, yet beautifully tolerant toward the points of view of others—tolerant in the sense of recognizing their rights and importance but not in the sense of abstaining from vigorous combat when she feels they are wrong. Although not an actual Quaker, she has worked with the Quakers and her philosophy of life and education has much in common with them.

Entirely outside the limited designation as an educator, yet altogether too interesting and thoughtful to omit, is Professor Albert Einstein. We visited him and his efficient, motherly and lovable wife in their charming home at Caputh, not far from Potsdam. The house overlooks a beautiful lake on which Einstein spends many hours in his patent, non-sinkable motor boat. He was barefoot, his shirt was open at the throat, he was friendly, humorous, yet deeply earnest. He has given a great deal of thought to educational questions. He is an internationalist and a pacifist and this fact plays through his educational attitudes. In certain respects he reminded us of Gandhi in spite of the obvious extreme differences between the two men. Both

place world welfare far above nationalism. Both place the individual conscience at the top of their scale of values. Both retain complete naturalness, simplicity and good humor in spite of world fame. Both think in cosmic terms. And in both one feels a great spirituality.

So much for the personalities.

None of the Germans with whom we talked wished to create a specific form of society through education. Weniger alone indicated an approach to the idea of perpetuating the existing form. He said, "It is not necessary to alter society, for we have done that. We have brought about a democratic order more or less accidental in form, not through education but through war and revolution. We have the form for our new society but not the men that this form requires; so education must create such men."

Ulich's standpoint was more typical. "Russia is extreme. She is trying to build a society as an engineer would construct a building. I don't believe in this system. I am also opposed to the extremely individualistic point of view. Russia is right in maintaining that the individual is a social being. But although no individual exists for himself alone everyone is something just for himself.

"In the present situation of the world, we are all dependent on one another. We cannot develop the individual without making him realize that he is a part of society and without making certain conditions for his living in society. Every person must be directed toward making a future society in which each individual will have the possibility of developing himself. I don't know how that society will be

organized; but we all know that the capitalistic form is not at the present time carrying out this ideal.

"While I think there must be a collectivist foundation for society, I do not agree with Russia in her attempt to fit all children into a picture. I would rather simply develop in children a feeling for the need of working together and for building some desirable type of social organization. The Russian plan of bringing about a new kind of society involves making the individual more dependent. I would try to make him more independent and able to find his own way into a collectivistic social organization.

"How is this to be done? In Germany we can be helped by Kant, Fichte, Goethe and Schiller, for these people had a humanitarian ideal in which were both the individual and social factors. Goethe, for example, said that the greatest problem of the nineteenth century was for man to subordinate machinery. While the philosophy in his great work, *Faust*, was quite individualistic, Faust found in his old age that he wanted to make a dam for his community—even Faust showed a social tendency in the end. The Germans have not seen the social aim in Goethe's work, but it is there if one looks.

"My aim would be toward a new humanism. Toward this goal our schools are not reaching at all, nor are the American schools, although they are closer. Our tendency is too much toward the individual development of mankind. While it is very important to train the mind in the ability to think, we need to combine this with activity. Here the Russians have a great deal to say to us; yet it seems to me that humanism is lacking in modern Russian education."



Dr. Karsen suggested: "Students will leave school convinced of the need of economic change in order to get rid of the cleavage between classes. They will realize that a new socialized society will be possible only on a new economic basis. This far I am close to the Russian idea. I hope however that the changes will come about by evolution rather than revolution, although in a more periodic or dialectical manner than is indicated by John Dewey, with sharp opposition between parties followed by finding new ways of living together.

"The exact form of the state does not interest me. There may be more real democracy in a state which is not called democratic than in a so-called democracy made autocratic by capitalism. I want the students to understand the economic situation and present day reality rather than to work toward a specific form of society or justice.

"Germany is very idealistic but we have such big general aims that they are of little help to education. I prefer to start from the present needs of society rather than from the ultimate wishes of more or less great thinkers."

Dr. Rotten took a somewhat similar stand. She said, "Let us aim at a state not preconceived as to its exact form, but conceived rather as a special product, working along with evolution. The aim must not be vague, but be the direct result of present conditions taking into account past history. The central thing is for the individual to realize that he is the state."

The rest all tended toward the more individualistic attitude, even ex-minister Becker, who said, "In the center is the development of personality. Like the Greeks I would develop not only the brain but the spiritual and physical

side of the child—music, religion, social relations, sex relations, and the relations between me and us, and between me and thee. The individual takes in the whole of his social surroundings and is built on the ideal of morality and the necessity of labor. In a word, educate each person to be a man.”

Dr. Spranger said that there had been a reaction in Germany against the idea of making a new world through education. “Education is not a machine like an automobile that one can work. To try to force all children into the state’s mold is futile. The more we try to do it, the more youth will react against our efforts, especially the worth while youth. The recognition of this led to some extreme experiments in freedom in Germany, from which we have again reacted.

“I personally agree with Gandhi—if we can develop each child’s spirit and ability, we have done all that education can do. I believe in freedom in a social setting. I know that what I say is not in accordance with the attitude of the present time. It is liberalism, and that, right now, is subordinated in Germany. We are torn between the extremes of communism and fascism. But that is our sickness, and I am not thinking in terms of what I would do in this sick society, but rather under healthy conditions.

“What Russia is doing now is comparable to what Germany did in similar form a hundred years ago; for she is attempting to build an industrial state through education. To-day we have no building-aim in Germany—we are just struggling. Let us so educate our children that they may become self-dependent and may come into possession of

their full powers. This will be of value to society as well as to the individual."

Flitner said, "The care of the pedagogue is to build a free and Christ-like life in children without too specific political or social forms." And Einstein feels that while it is impossible to give children complete freedom of development in the schools because of the viewpoints and limitations of the teacher, education should attempt to give them as much freedom as possible for their own individual growth and should avoid imposing on them any set idea of social organization.

This rather marked individualistic tendency in Germany was evident, too, when we came to the question of personal conscience versus the state's decrees. Spranger was the only one who definitely answered in favor of the state. "State education cannot do otherwise than work toward the choice of the state's orders rather than the individual conscience. I haven't made the world but when there is a state it must preserve itself."

Karsen was not quite willing to leave the choice to the individual but placed the responsibility on some sort of collective. "What a person thinks is his conscience may be his private wish. But if he is a member of a group which he believes to be moving society forward, and if that group decides to disobey the order of the state, his solidarity with the group, and his conviction that it is right, justify him in disobeying the state. Such a situation should not arise, however, except where a fundamental principle is at stake."

Weniger, too, qualified the right of the individual to follow his conscience, feeling that in time of war people

must obey the command to fight regardless of their personal convictions, and that people in state service must either obey orders or resign.

It was interesting that Dr. Becker, although a former Minister of Education and a Roman Catholic, maintained the right of the individual to personal revolt against the state's demands. "I hate what is going on in Russia," he said. "That is the death of individualism. There is no development if you make a scheme where everything is fixed forever. The individual must be free to say he does not agree, and not be punished for saying it.

"As a democrat I believe in majority rule and the necessity of each person obeying the decision of the majority. But if in extreme cases, in spite of your best efforts to make the majority agree with you, you find your basic ideals greatly violated by the state, follow your conscience."

"There is always a question as to whether the command of the state is really for the good of society," said Professor Flitner. "The individual conscience must take into consideration society's well-being, and when the government demands something which is opposed to this it is the socialized conscience which must be obeyed."

Ulich too placed personal conscience first. He said, "Nationalism is a form of collectivism. What I want is a synthesis of this with individualism. If one's moral sense is offended by what the state demands, the individual must follow his conscience. The nation stands midway between the individual and the ideals of all mankind; so if the nation demands something contrary to the welfare of all humanity the primary loyalty of the individual is toward the common welfare. Kant said that the human being must



never be merely an instrument but always express his inner possibilities—not his own personal wishes, but his sense of moral values. A state has the right to exist only insofar as it helps each individual to develop his own potentialities.”

Elizabeth Rotten’s attitude was practically the same as Dr. Ulich’s; and so was Einstein’s.

There was less unanimity, however, when we came to the question of nationalism versus internationalism. The views ranged all the way from Einstein’s extreme internationalism to Becker’s frank avowal of nationalism. “Being an internationalist,” said Einstein, “I naturally believe there is no question between one’s loyalty to one’s own country and one’s loyalty to the world at large. I am no believer in patriotism. It is a beautiful form for a dirty thing!”

“The worst thing we can do is to attempt internationalism too prematurely,” countered Becker. “The time will come when we shall have one Europe. But by emphasizing the idea of humanity above all as do the radical pacifists we retard the normal development of gradually increasing national unions. Human society has moved toward larger and larger groupings. Mankind in the future will laugh at our national self-consciousness as we laugh at the behavior of the city-state or of the feudal states of the middle ages. But when Wells, for example, advocates acting now as if we had reached the world union, he hinders normal progress toward that end. We must live the life of our own period. Our period is one of nations. We must give all our force to our country, but with the view that in future times humanity will reign.

“Let us not propagate general international ideas now

but develop our nations to act toward other nations as we in our private lives act toward other individuals, adjusting our personal self-consciousness to our social duties."

The opinions of the others were at various points along the scale between these two. Weniger, who is a protégé of Becker's, was closest to his end of the scale. "One must work for the welfare of one's own country," he said, "but in such a way as not to block the welfare of the world. Let us train children toward loyalty to their own nation and at the same time train them to avoid any actions which will be contrary to world welfare. If in later life they face a conflict between these two ideals, each will have to make his own decision in the light of the specific question involved."

Spranger felt that a state education would naturally stress loyalty to the state rather than to the outside world but he emphasized the necessity for teaching that the state is a part of the world. Flitner carried this a step further: "A conflict between the welfare of the state and that of the world comes only through error. If one knows that something is for the welfare of the world and if this thing seems to be opposed to the good of one's own nation, one must realize that the nation has erred. But of course I mean the world including one's own nation. All nations in conflict pretend to be working for the good of humanity. Our children must be brought to know that to say 'because this is good for my country it is good for the world,' is blasphemy!"

Karsen characteristically placed loyalty to one's group or collective above nationalism. "It is hard to answer categorically," he demurred. "If a person belongs to a group which is in advance of the present situation it will decide

that you have to oppose the state in the interest of mankind as best represented by the group or class to which you belong."

Ulich's position and that of Dr. Rotten were consistent with their views on the previous question: humanity must come first. "But," Ulich added, "one must be sure that one is really acting for the world of humanity and not merely for convenience in getting along with other countries."

Dr. Rotten said, "I would always tell children that we must overcome conflicts between the nation and the world of nations, that we must unite the two. In the long run what is good for the world will be good for my country even though it may not seem so for the moment. Education must work for the long view."

There was practical unanimity in regard to history teaching—everyone felt that strictly objective history was impossible but that teachers and textbooks should approach objectivity as closely as they could. Since Dr. Becker is a historian and until recently was Minister of Education, his point of view has special interest. He said: "Any objectivity in history is impossible. We all start from the place where we are. During my ministry I had to alter all history textbooks after the revolution and again as we progressed. For example, the year 1848 and the development of the Democratic and Social Democratic Parties seemed to be blind alleys and worthy of very little emphasis during our imperial days. Now that we have a republic, however, the connection from the French Revolution and 1848 to to-day is a clear line and values are accordingly altered. I found that my own ideas of what I was doing differed before and during and after my ministry.

"It is necessary to *attempt* objectivity. But the problem is a difficult one. History is not only a question of objective research but is also the main instrument of national education. There is a real tension between these two functions and it is difficult to resolve the conflict."

Weniger, while holding to the same conclusions, added, "We should not falsify history but should try to give both sides of all questions—yes, even of wars. And of course we should teach the faults as well as the virtues of our heroes."

"Only truth is fruitful," said Flitner.

Karsen questioned the desirability of teaching history as such and felt that social science based on to-day's problems should replace history in the common schools. "Let the children understand the present situation from all possible angles," he said. "Use many books, try to give the children an understanding also of the reasons for present conditions. History is not merely something to learn but is something to make people live and understand life.

"In a democratic nation, I would not teach history in terms of great personalities but in terms of great movements. I would teach that the achievements of our great men have been merely answers to certain big needs in society and that success was only possible because the time was ripe. Heroes are only functionaries of certain groups and should not be too much emphasized."

Spranger was the only one who made a differentiation according to the age of the children. "In the earlier stages of education we must emphasize love for one's own people and the state. Young children cannot understand the faults of the nation and its heroes. But even in teaching these children, history should not be falsified or warped. Education



exists for truth. In the higher stages of education—after the student has reached eighteen years of age—we must try to be as objective as possible. One cannot, for example, understand the present structure of Germany without considering the faults of Bismarck's system."

Einstein said: "It is quite impossible to teach history objectively. Every person has his own feelings, his own outlooks, his own interpretations, and these are bound to color his presentation of history. On the other hand, the teacher should strive toward as much objectivity as possible and attempt to teach history as a science. If the school tries to force on the child some one point of view there is danger that the child will come to believe the school is lying, that it is trying to deform his mind. We must respect the child's freedom of thinking. Any attempt to force an opinion on him is wrong."

Ulich's viewpoint is similar. He adds: "Since a nation only has a right to exist while it serves humanity, the teaching of history while without falsification must be so organized that it will help children to learn to love their country and to make it serve the world as a whole."

There was again practical unanimity in the attitude toward freedom of discussion. Ulich and Spranger placed certain age limits for such freedom, feeling that questions like communism and pacifism were better not discussed until the child had reached fifteen to seventeen years of age. Weniger would gradually decrease the teacher's leadership as the children increase in age; and Flitner, although agreeing that age must be considered, felt that any question that is honestly put by the children should be answered regardless of their age. "If a child is old enough to think

about such questions," Flitner said, "it is better to have discussion in the open."

Everyone agreed that there must be a sound basis of understanding for discussion. Einstein's position on this was particularly sound. "Freedom of discussion is utterly valueless if it is thoughtless. If the teacher has the skill to help children think their problems through and attack them in a really scientific spirit based on sound knowledge, discussion is not only desirable but necessary. Under a teacher who does not have this power, however, discussion is worthless. We have suffered much in Germany from the futile kind of discussion."

The influence of the teacher in the discussions was conceived somewhat differently by different people.

Einstein said: "The teacher is bound to use his influence in an attempt to bring the children to his point of view. That lies deep in the nature of all of us. You ask whether the teacher should use such influence even if his point of view is in opposition to the state." He chuckled. "That question is already settled for him, for if his beliefs are too much at variance with the political powers he loses his job. I believe, however, that the teacher should be given freedom to express his own views and even to work toward them. But again it must not be a matter of force—he must not impose his views on the children.

"I find that different countries vary in the amount of freedom they allow their teachers in such regards. Russia on the one hand allows none, while England allows a great deal. Germany allows very little and America is just about as bad—at least in California. Many Americans don't real-

ize to what extent strongly entrenched capitalism dominates their education.

"Of course a teacher could not be allowed to spread such extreme ideas as the killing of everyone opposed to his views—but it is hard to imagine any teacher advocating such ideas. I believe that the thoughtful and worthy teacher should be given the maximum amount of freedom, within reasonable limits, to express his views. In the same way the teacher should give freedom of thought to the children."

Karsen emphasized this last point and went on: "The teacher should never allow the children to discuss things just for the sake of talking. When, however, the discussion has a background of careful study it should be quite unrestricted. Let the teacher mix in it, his main function being to keep the children from talking without an adequate basis and to make them use all the means and materials of work possible. The children may come to various conclusions, and in these the teacher will play a part. His opinions will naturally carry considerable weight, but should not be forced upon the children.

"The teacher must recognize that we live in a state and have to adjust ourselves to it. He cannot, therefore, advocate treason or law-breaking. But he has a right to fight for the things he believes, within the state's laws and forms. Under rare conditions, when the state is very oppressive, the teacher may even work directly against it. As a rule, however, while the teacher is in the state service he cannot advocate things such as communism which are directly opposed to the state's policy. In discussions he must give the reasons for the state's attitudes and demands. He may (but it wouldn't be clever) tell his own views, yet he must

also stress strongly the state's views. Democracy cannot be carried so far as to permit people to destroy the state."

Spranger was of the same general persuasion. "With us a teacher is an office holder. He must therefore avoid all propaganda against the present state. The state must be able to count on the loyal support of all its servants. It is not propaganda, however, for a teacher to express his views and the reasons for them, provided he does not attempt to bring the children to his attitude."

Flitner emphasized the teacher's freedom even more strongly. "He must be true to his own convictions even if they are contrary to those of the state. No state can set a definite boundary on a teacher's thought and expression. But the teacher in turn must leave his children free to reach their own conclusions. He may state his views and correct errors of fact but he must not try to influence the children's decisions." This was also Ulich's contention, but he added: "For such freedom of discussion we must have better teachers and the teachers must see that whatever specific conclusions the children reach, they themselves give full recognition to the general goal of the development of the individual and of society."

Elizabeth Rotten was emphatic in denouncing the idea of the teacher's obligation to bring children to the officially approved kind of conclusion. "The teacher should give the best and most scientific arguments on both sides of a question," she said. "He must not falsify; he must not wrong the person holding views opposite to his own; he must have perfect self control. It is a good thing if the teacher holds a different opinion from that of the environment but he must not use his personal contact with the



child to turn him against the beliefs of his home. I would never allow a teacher to consider that he had a mandate from the state to impress certain ideas on the children. It is his own conscience that counts. But his conscience must be turned toward the welfare of the nation. The ideals of his profession are his moral court. Under no conditions must the teacher be considered a mere mouthpiece for the government in power. The teacher's first loyalty is to his conscience and humanity!"

In this liberal point of view Germany differs materially from the nations of eastern Europe, from Japan, and from many of the educators in China. In India alone in the East does one find any considerable body of opinion in favor of such freedom of expression for both teacher and pupil. We shall find it, however, to some degree in France and very marked in England.

We expected to find sharp differences of opinion in Germany in the matter of child-centered education. Nowhere in the world was the ideal of freedom and of education centered around the interests and felt needs of children carried out so fully in public schools as in post-war Hamburg. On the other hand in no country had education been more efficiently predetermined by adults than in pre-war Germany. In the minds of those at least with whom we talked, the conflict has been largely resolved.

The most child-centered, naturally, was Dr. Rotten, a founder of the New Education Fellowship which has strongly child-centered leanings.

She said: "I agree with Kilpatrick and Dewey that we do not know what society will be twenty years from now.

I believe in teaching from the child out, but not in the extreme application of this doctrine. Education should be centered in the needs of the child, but in the needs of the child who tries to make social contacts. Let us open the life of the school to the life of society and we can make a thorough-going synthesis of child-centered with society-centered education.

"There should be an elastic ideal curriculum in the back of the teacher's mind. He must know what things are necessary for a child who must some day enter adult social life. But he must make these things concrete and relate them to the life of the child."

Ulich came as near as any one to going to the opposite standpoint. "One cannot allow the child to determine for himself the aims of education. He cannot foresee his future need. All education must be a kind of discipline and leading. To educate a child only according to his own desires is effeminate. Life itself is hard and the child must not feel that it is all mere play. On the other hand one must teach children in accordance with their stage of growth. Therefore child psychology is very important. The overdriving of the children in the past has been false; but it is also false to go to the other extreme. We must rather find those parts of each point of view that are right."

"One must always respect the personality of the child, but the child must not make all decisions," said Weniger. "He can't know what he is going to need, and must learn to respect what adults have found to be the facts he will need in later life."

"The needs of the student are much the same as those of society," Karsen said. "The child's interests are formed

by those of society and are dependent on social needs. Therefore, out of the child's interests many interests of the larger society may be developed. We should, however, begin with the careful analysis of present day social needs and then build up a careful plan of activities. These activities cannot be as haphazard as they were in Collings' experiment in America; for in a large school we must avoid repetition of projects and organize a plan for every year. The projects should be both of the research type, related as far as possible to actual needs in society outside, and of the coöperative construction type. While the form and the general problems should be organized in advance, the detailed problems and activities may differ greatly in various classes."

Flitner said: "The process of education is a calling forth of independence through leading by the teacher. The development of a child's nature is not predetermined but has many possibilities. I can neither work with the child without leading, nor lead him without considering his development."

And Spranger: "We now laugh at the idea of education 'from the child out.' That was just part of our early transition period. But we must understand the child's interests and abilities and adapt our work to them."

I hesitated about raising this question with Einstein—it seemed a bit technical for a person not in the pedagogical field. But he had very definite ideas on the subject, saying: "You cannot make a curriculum entirely from the standpoint of children's interests. Some would enjoy reading and writing, and would never learn how much four and four are. It is simply impossible to leave the question of curricu-

lum entirely to their own feelings of need. There is on the other hand a great deal in the Montessori idea of letting children have much freedom to find their needs. The more they can feel the desire for knowledge the better they will learn. One should have a plan based on the needs of society, but one should attempt to give children a feeling of need for these things.

“This question, like most of those you raise, is one between individualism and authority. The old idea of authority forced from above cannot last. The soundest way to build society is upon a foundation of free thinking individuals. The school cannot influence society primarily by direct teaching, because we are not so much moved by logic as by our feelings. I am an internationalist and a pacifist”—and he laughed a little here—“not because I have given logical consideration to the matter, but because I *feel* that way! The teacher influences children more by his feelings than by his reasoning. And it is well that this is so. Intelligence is not a goal but a means. Education should be more for the development of the child’s attitudes than for that of his intellect.”

Rather a remarkable statement from a man, world renowned for the most abstruse mathematical thinking.

As was to be expected, mental hygiene and child guidance were familiar subjects to the German educators and were considered by them an essential part of public education. “Every teacher should know a good deal of mental hygiene and psychology,” said Karsen, “and should also be familiar with such related scientific movements as Gestalt and the work of Kretschmer. While the teachers should be



trained to do work in child adjustment themselves, the schools should have a special department to help in the more difficult cases."

"Such work as Adler's in Vienna is very important," Spranger said. "It seems to me much better than the work of the Freudians, which is dangerous. We should provide psychologists for our schools and develop mental hygiene work, but with the recognition that this is a new field and that the psychology underlying it is based on one theory which may be overemphasized or even faddish. Nevertheless, there is great worth in this approach to our problems."

And Ulich said: "Back of the work of Freud and Adler there is very important knowledge. But we must not build a philosophy out of it or consider it the basis of all education. Mental hygiene is valuable in helping a child overcome his difficulties—it is so important that we should sacrifice some phases of intellectual education to provide the time and money for it in the schools."

It is interesting to find so much agreement on all our questions among the German leaders of educational thought. One expects this in highly centralized countries like Japan, Russia, Turkey, and Poland, but it comes somewhat as a surprise in a country as decentralized educationally and as individualistic as the German Republic. In spite of the extreme dissensions in parliament and among the common people, in spite of the radical opposition between the Hitlerites and Nationalists on one side and the communists on the other, the leaders of German *educational* thinking seem for the most part to be in harmony with each other—thoughtful, balanced, liberal and progressive.

## CHAPTER TEN

### FRANCE—EDUCATION FREED FROM NATIONALISM

CARNOT in 1811 wrote: "What will be the great motive of all individual efforts? What will give them a uniform tendency toward one and the same end? . . . It can be obviously only a strong noble passion and this passion can be only the love of country. This love, then, must be given birth, a national spirit must be created."

The above quotation is the keynote of Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes' book, *France, a Nation of Patriots*, prepared under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Peace. Hayes proceeds to show how fully this ideal of Carnot's has been and is being carried out in France; how the French state dominates the schools and uses the army and navy for patriotic and national education; how its civil bureaucracy comes into contact with every French man and woman from the cradle to the grave; how the churches, press, radio and cinema, national societies and various symbols and ceremonies all combine to make the Frenchman thoroughly French. "He is made aware that he is a Frenchman, marked off from all other nationalities, and owing supreme loyalty to France. . . . All Frenchmen, Communists and Royalists as well as bourgeois Republicans, regard France differently from other countries; France is theirs. . . . Since the great revolution

. . . it has been an ambition of French patriots that a formal education should be given to every French child, under state direction and control, and that such education should be compulsory, gratuitous, and patriotic."

Further on, Hayes says: "The texts in general are even more national than the official programs. There are differences in emphasis . . . but there are few if any differences among them in the ultimate purpose of developing in their respective readers a greater devotion to, 'sweet France,' or 'beautiful France.'"

He goes on to show the great similarity that exists in all the textbooks, especially in their national tone, their moralizing tendency, their attention to war and preparedness, and their attitude toward the World War. Germany alone is held responsible for the war, her previous aggressions are emphasized, she is made to appear barbarous, warlike, and brutal, while France is depicted as great, pacific, just, and generous. German atrocities are described in contrast to French heroism, suffering, and sacrifice. Although the aid of the Allies is acknowledged, the main cause of Germany's defeat is attributed to French leadership, bravery, and brains. The victory and the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine are glorified; the treaty of Versailles is acclaimed as just. The child is made to feel that Germany is still strong and crafty and bent on revenge, and that while the League of Nations is a promise of better days in the future, the only present means of thwarting Germany is military might.

In his analysis of textbooks, Hayes finds their omissions quite as significant as their positive assertions and implications. Elementary school children have no exposure to the language of other countries, nor do they learn anything of

their history, culture, or literature. And of course the great majority of children never go beyond the elementary school.

That there is another side to the picture, Hayes recognizes. He points out, for example, that the national Syndicate of Teachers in France passed a resolution in 1924 to the effect that history should be truthful and repudiate past falsehoods, that it should show human evolution toward progress and justice, that it should emphasize what France owes to other peoples and they to her; that history teaching should be absolutely pacifistic in its tendency; and that it should have no purpose but truth and fraternity.

According to Hayes, under the various changes in government which have taken place kaleidoscopically during the past hundred and fifty years, several great traditions have remained fundamental in French thinking. First of all there is the tendency toward centralization—France is as fully centralized under the republic as she was under the seventeenth century monarchy. Probably no country in the world has a more centralized system of education. Second there is *étatisme*—the veneration of the state and ascription to it of the right, nay duty, of regulating the details of collective and individual enterprise. There is, further, the fostering of national culture—art, music, drama, literature, science—by the state, and more recently there is the guaranteeing by the state of liberty, equality and fraternity, and insistence upon political democracy and republicanism.

Such things tend to give France a unity in spite of the widely divergent views held by French individuals, and in spite of governmental shifts. France is, therefore, an entity, and toward this entity all the highly centralized forces of France inculcate patriotic love and devotion.



A French friend of mine, in criticizing Hayes' interpretation, said: "Hayes sees things from one angle. All that he says is true. His book is scholarly and very well documented. But for that reason it is all the more dangerous. His apparent fairness throws people off their guard. He recognizes that differences of opinion exist, but he minimizes these differences by assuming that they do not affect the fundamentally nationalist spirit of France. There are many nationalists in France, and the nationalist spirit does pervade our textbooks and many of our social institutions. But there is also a strongly internationalist sentiment in France, especially among the teachers. Their attitude is bound to permeate the schools. While you are in France I want you to be sure to come into contact with these non-nationalistic groups, as well as with the nationalists."

In Nancy, at the meeting of the French Association for the Advancement of Science, I had the opportunity of seeing something of both points of view. The president of the Association, M. Pierron, a Nobel Prize physicist, was distinctly international and humanitarian in his outlook. One of the principal speakers at a large evening meeting, however, gave an address on French colonial policies in which French nationalism and imperialism were expressed and justified. His talk was roundly applauded. Later my friend, who had also attended the meeting, said, "There is much criticism of that speech. People feel that it was in very bad taste, at a scientific gathering, to give a talk so obviously political in its bias. They also feel that it gives a wrong impression of the prevailing attitude of the people gathered here."

"But," I remonstrated, "the applause would certainly indicate that most of the people were in hearty agreement with him."

"The French people are always polite," he replied. "The speaker was an eminent jurist. The address was admirably given. You noticed that Professor Pierron in thanking the speaker afterward praised the speech solely from the standpoint of the beautiful language and diction of the speaker."

In general, as will appear later, I found that most of the people in the educational world in France were distinctly less nationalistic and more individualistic and international than the people in eastern Europe and Asia, and possibly more so than some of those in Germany.

Probably a typical French attitude was expressed by M. Launay, inspector of the schools of the Department du Nord. He was small, white-haired, immaculately dressed, suave, witty, scholarly—a charming Frenchman to talk to, although, some of his subordinates implied, somewhat strict and bureaucratic from the standpoint of those who work under his direction. He said:

"The full development of each individual is definitely my aim. It is for the generation which we are now educating to determine the kind of society in which it wishes to live. This is in accord with all our traditions and pedagogical literature. We still live much in the spirit of Rousseau. He and Montaigne have given a definite trend to our educational thought. You will find that our Ministry of Primary Education is permeated with this spirit. Yet, of course, our education is highly centralized, and includes

what will be of value for all of France, not merely for one locality.

"We ask our teachers to respect the child as far as possible. The ideas he has come from his family, and our instruction must not go contrary to the religious and philosophic teaching of his parents—this is the principle of laicism. I have children from all milieux, so I must not oppose sect with sect or philosophy with philosophy. I must teach, instead, morals with which all are in accord. I must enrich the conscience of the individual, then leave him free to follow whatever he believes.

"But we live in a certain type of society. The teacher has no right to work against this. He has the right to cultivate the intelligence and reason of the children, but not to make a conflict between their conscience and the social situation. You will remember that Descartes wanted to think for himself on all questions; he was careful, however, to reserve a social conscience, for he did not know where his reflection would lead, and wished to preserve the peace of the state.

"We demand that all people always obey their conscience; yet we want them to maintain a critical spirit, and not have too much certainty of their own rightness. They must have a sense of proportion.

"I would avoid generalizations not directly connected with facts. We ask our teachers not to impose their convictions on the children but to respect scrupulously the intellectual work and reflection of each individual child. I believe in confidence in right and reason, but in right and reason which take account of those of others and of existing conditions. The word *mesure*—proportion, relativeness

—recurs again and again in our thinking. Confidence and questioning balance each other.<sup>1</sup>

“We try to make a conciliation between the national and international points of view. We try to make children understand that there need be no conflict between a nation, in the general sense, and an international spirit. But if there is a conflict I would have the children choose international well-being—without hesitation. I would say to children and adults that the international point of view must prevail. I do not believe, however, that such a conflict in interests exists. If there is generosity, right, and reason there need be no conflict. France’s prestige and rights should be reconciled reasonably—reasonably—with world welfare. Even in the primary schools we speak of the League of Nations. Our teachers are all pacifists, some perhaps to an exaggerated degree—we should have *la mesure*!

“Rights appertain not only to the individual, but to the group, the nation, and the world. Again, however, the word *mesure* is important. We must reconcile the apparently conflicting ideals, we must conciliate.”

I asked him, then, about the objectivity of history teaching.

“Ah, history, history!” he exclaimed. “It is impossible to have objective history. If it were possible, I would say follow objective history wherever it leads, however disagreeable. But I have traveled far and wide and have seen the way history is taught in various countries. It is totally different! There is no final, objective history. Elements

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to render into English the niceties of expression used by Launay. For example, he played on the double meaning of the word *raison* which I have had to translate, “right and reason,” and the balance of *confiance* and *défiance* is much neater in French than in English translation.



that were neglected by the historian before the French revolution as of no importance, have assumed great importance in the light of that revolution. In our life to-day there are elements which seem to us trivial, but which may become very important in the light of evolution. History develops from point to point as human evolution develops. There is no objective history!

"We have no right, however, to teach only the virtues of the nation and its heroes—the children must know their faults and weaknesses as well. All our textbooks, for example, show the faults of Louis the Fourteenth. We should be as nearly objective as it is possible to be. But who knows where the truth really lies in history?

"It is not necessary to suppress facts. Let us rather express the qualities of the nation. The French nation has always tried to make its conduct as generous and human as possible. Let us give our children this human ideal. It is again a conciliation between the national and international spirit."

Then he went on: "I don't think we should habituate children too soon to discussion. French children are naturally reasoners, and while we want to retain their love of discussion, it must not be given free play too early—we must put on the brakes. It is the function of the teacher to 'document' the children for future discussions—again with *mesure*. There must be an evolution of ideas as the children's knowledge develops. At the end of the course at the Lycee, when the children are eighteen or nineteen years old, we expose them to the different philosophic systems of all countries and ages. This is a discussion course to which no courses I have ever seen in England, Germany, or Cen-

tral Europe can be compared. It is, as you indicate, only the few, the élite, who have this opportunity.

"In the higher primary school I would not forbid the children all discussion, but I would place the emphasis upon giving them, as objectively as possible, the facts of such debatable questions as the Russian Revolution. But once more, all this with *mesure*.

"The teacher is definitely forbidden to influence children. He must respect their independence of thought."

Asked his opinion of child-centered education, Launay said: "Again, a conciliation. There is a program and there is a method. Programs are imposed by social necessity, but methods are dictated by the needs and interests of children. Especially in the primary schools, we try to have children study those things for which their activities show the need.

"I am not well enough informed on mental hygiene to answer your question in this regard. It is an extremely interesting subject, but in the actual schools, alas, it is as yet scarcely an influence. We do not know enough of this new school of psychology to let it affect our educational conduct. It is just bringing us new facts, which we must assimilate. We are still diffident about accepting it as a basis for action. We must, however, know the child—that is our job. To punish a child for an action without knowing his inner mechanism is useless. We must come face to face with the child himself if we wish to modify his conduct."

Two-thirds of the teachers in France—eighty thousand of them—belong to the Syndicate of Teachers. Except for the Educational Workers Union of Russia, this is the largest teachers' trade union in the world. It is affiliated with the

International Labor Movement in Geneva, and is even more representative of the teachers of France than the National Education Association is of teachers in America. One of its most important officers is Lapiere, an able, intelligent, thoughtful man of about forty. Let us see what he considers to be the aims of the great mass of French teachers:

"The French, although in many ways very advanced, are the most conservative of people. They consider themselves revolutionary, but are almost as traditional as the English. Their revolution was principally political and did not reduce the disparity between the class of owners and that of workers. Our secondary education has perpetuated for the upper class an education devoid of utilitarianism, while our lower class receives an education which is largely utilitarian. It is the aim of our Syndicate to do away with this division between classes, and to realize the equality of rights. We have now an equality of political rights, but we want an equality of the conditions of existence, a socialist régime which will give the means of production and distribution to the collective, while leaving the individual free to dispose of his work as he wishes, leaving the peasant the owner of his home and farm. We want a socialism which is humanitarian rather than strictly Marxian.

"We want the maximum development of individual aptitudes combined with a profound sense of social solidarity. We realize that one best serves oneself and society by occupying well the place one best fits.

"We would not force the conscience but would try to realize a social form more just and more humane than that which now exists. Teachers of all levels, including university professors, are united in trying to bring about this type

of society, not through violent revolution—we've had enough experience with that—but through education and a gradual transformation.

“When you ask whether the individual should follow his individual conscience or the dictates of the state, we must distinguish between the state and the government, which is subject to political fluctuations. The government is not necessarily a true expression of the state. We must free education from political hazards, but keep it in touch with the real tendencies of the state. Education must not be a systematic apology for present institutions, yet it should show the children how we have reached our present political system, and the argument for it and against it. It should give them a point of view which is evolutive and comparative. The ideal of civic education is to make the children aware of the present organization in such a way that they will have a sense of progress.

“Before the war the socialists adopted a resolution against participation in war. Had they adhered to this resolution, there would have been insurrections in both Germany and France. They were conquered, however, by organized press propaganda which made a distinction between defensive wars and aggressive ones, and convinced the people of each country that they were fighting in self-defense. Should a similar situation arise in the future, and if we find ourselves alone in our convictions, we shall march. But we should have so strong an organization that we could prevent the war from starting, and it is to this end that we would educate our children. We would preserve the sacred right of insurrection against all arbitrary acts of the gov-



ernment. But that right is valueless if it is not accompanied by the necessary power.

"We are not sure whether we can train our children to the point where they will be able to stand against social pressure effectively. And we do not wish to incite them to something futile. Individual action against the state simply negates the individual; so we would not educate toward this. It is when the individual, as part of a collective, even though it be a minority, acts in accordance with his conscience, that effective results may come. Purely individual action is not only useless but is often damaging to the cause which the individual avows. We would, therefore, like to have our children as they grow into manhood and womanhood, follow their conscience, but follow it effectively by combining in a close-knit organization with others of the same conviction.

"The state, of course, cannot recognize the right of insurrection. In state schools we can only develop a critical spirit and the sort of background from which conscientious opposition to unjust demands by the state may develop."

Passing on to the question of nationalism versus internationalism in education, Lapiere said: "I must answer you in terms of the evolution of society. In such countries as those of the Arabs I should favor nationalism. But we in France have arrived at a comprehension of the sentiment for universal welfare. For us it is no longer necessary to settle questions on a national basis. We must instead settle them in terms of the economic and social welfare of all the world. There should be a world federation. Switzerland has shown that language difficulties need not prevent close union. Let us therefore teach history with this in view. Our

Syndicate has succeeded in banning twenty-six French textbooks that were chauvinistic. We are willing to have texts which show the particular genius of our people but not those that exalt one nation above another.

"History as a science is adult history. For children we have to select, and the subjective views of the writer are bound to influence the selection. We can, however, insist that the basis of selection be the development of a love of humanity rather than a narrow nationalism. Let us choose only those facts which relate to the general evolution and development of society. Let us not exalt war without showing its horrors. Let us teach the adventure of man. In the history of Holland, for example, we can show man's battle with the sea and his victorious wresting of farmlands from the sea's clutches. We can show again how the Dutch have ruled the sea as traders. We can depict Holland as a country of art, the fatherland of Van Dyke and Rembrandt. We can show Holland as the refuge of free thinking men like Spinoza and Descartes. Such a history of each people will give children an idea of the contribution of each nation and each century and will show the interpenetration of these with each other."

Another organization of teachers, about one fourth as large as the Syndicate, is the Federation of Education, with some twenty thousand members. It is the left wing of educational organizations and is frankly communistic in its tendencies. I met with a group of representatives of this organization in Lille. We first had beer in a crude barroom. On the walls were various appeals for aid to strikers and the unemployed, with places for people to subscribe. One

might take his choice from half a dozen workers' causes. A large, cheap print of Lenin had a prominent place.

From the barroom I was led upstairs to a bare hall with long tables and backless benches which reminded me of some I. W. W. halls I had seen in America. Again there was a picture of Lenin, and a bust of him looked down benignly on the earnest group of his admirers sitting around the long table. They vociferously discussed each of my questions. Not since the meeting with Shulgren in the Marx-Lenin Institute in Moscow had a group of teachers threshed out the problems with such intensity and eager earnestness. They usually arrived at a unanimous or nearly unanimous answer.

"For the moment," they said, "we teachers of the Federation are definitely organized to educate for communism—by necessity. We are in a period of social transformation. Our students will either become little bourgeois or communists. Until the transformation is complete we must direct education toward a definitely preconceived end. Temporarily our work is negative. It is an attempt to undo the bourgeois conditions that exist. Our work is only with children up to the age of thirteen, while they are under clerical influence directly contrary to ours.

"We want to develop the independence and individuality of the child but at the same time to habituate him to submit to the discipline of the collective in case of conflict between his conscience and the collective decisions. But by the collective we do not mean all society, we mean the proletariat.

"As to world welfare versus national welfare, there is no question—the world welfare comes first.

"In history teaching we are trying to get away from the history of France with national and colonial tendencies. We ourselves have prepared and published a new history of France with a proletarian tendency. But the government forbids the use of this text in the schools. Many of our members, however, don't think it has enough tendency toward communism."

"Then you believe history teaching should have a tendency and not be objective?" I asked.

"No, no," they insisted. "We want an objective history, but an objective history is bound to tend toward communism. Facts must be selected with an aim in view but they must not be falsified. We really would prefer to teach social science as they do in Russia, instead of history, but would wait till the children are somewhat more mature."

The group felt that in the schools there should be freedom of discussion without reservation but with one proviso: the teacher too must be free to express his views.

"Should the teacher avoid trying to influence the children toward his own viewpoint?" I asked.

"He is bound to select the facts that seem to him most important and thereby to influence the children. We shall exert this influence in spite of ourselves, but we should strive toward objectivity."

The Federation is much influenced in its pedagogical ideas by Freinet, and is therefore inclined toward a child-centered philosophy. Most of the group in Lille, however, were in favor of fixing the aim by a scientific study of adult society and then basing the methods as far as possible on the activities of the children. Only one, M. Roger, was willing to let the program evolve entirely from the projects of the



children. That he had the courage of his convictions was evidenced by a visit to his little country school where the project method was in full swing.

A quite different group influencing French education is the *Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle*. This organization of professors, ex-soldiers, teachers, and laymen, is concerned with the reform, and particularly the democratization, of French education. I talked with their president, Professor Paul Langevir of the College of France, who is also president of *La Société Française de Pédagogique* and of the Paris group of the New Education Fellowship. With him, and participating in the interview, was Maurice Weber, secretary of the *Compagnons*, and professor in the *Lycée Hache*.

"First of all," they said, "we must, of course, form the individual; but we must also prepare him for harmonious social life. Such groups as the *Compagnons* want a general reform; they want to give vocational training; they want to work for the inter-relation between the individual and society. Our program is organized about the idea of a general culture for all children in the elementary school; work which is more vocational, but still has a cultural aim, in the secondary school. We conceive of this general culture as initiating the child into diverse forms of activity—manual, intellectual and esthetic—in liaison with the past and the future and in a democratic society. The children's aptitudes should determine the part they would play in the collective.

"We do not wish to fix the social form. Let all have equality of opportunity, then we are quite willing to leave

the choice of the form of society to them. We would, however, work toward a diminution of capitalism, and toward a more truly democratic social order. But the consideration of forms of property is not a principal function of education.

"In our present situation, we have two types of education in France, one for workers and a quite different one for those whose parents can afford a broader education. The *Compagnons* are working against this system. We want every child to have the opportunity to develop his own aptitudes in a social situation, regardless of wealth. If we can do this we believe we shall get rid of the class distinctions that now exist. Our program tends neither toward a communistic nor a capitalistic form of society.

"We would develop in children a sense of solidarity with humanity. This precludes nationalism. The individual must see certain duties to the collectivity, he must conform to society in order to live in it. It seems to us that there should be no conflict between the conscience of the individual and his service to the state; but when such a conflict exists, the individual should obey his conscience insofar as he believes it to be to the best interest of humanity. It is dangerous for the state to try to suppress individual ideas—they are explosive. We should allow a free exchange of ideas. When there is a law forbidding free speech, such as our present one forbidding propaganda against military service, we should do our best to change the law.

"I am not a partisan of individual unorganized action. If one's conscience is opposed to the orders of the state one should organize opposition to those orders, rather than merely refuse individually to obey them. Education should make for a free conscience, however, so that some may de-

cide to act in one way, and some in another, in case conflicts between loyalties occur. Not only should we educate our children to have free consciences themselves; we must also educate them to respect the free consciences of others.

"Education should be toward the most general welfare as superordinated to the more partial. The interest of humanity should, therefore, be above that of the nation. We should like to develop a universal sense, a sense of humanity. I am convinced that the importance of nationalism is diminishing, and that, therefore, possible conflicts between national and international interests will have less and less importance.

"On the whole, however, we are not so much interested in educating children to accept any one point of view, as we are in developing in them a critical spirit. We want to habituate the children to reflection.

"From this same angle we are now collaborating in an attempt to modify French textbooks, particularly in history, so that they will be objective and critical. Incontestably we should show the faults of France and its heroes; otherwise we are not educating.

"Free discussion is largely a question of age. In the primary schools there are questions that are above the intelligence of the children, but as the children approach the higher levels we should give them both sides of different social and economic conceptions quite objectively. We should develop the children as freely as possible, placing before them the information they need insofar as they can understand it. Let me emphasize again the fact that we want to develop the critical spirit in regard to both scientific and social questions. We would, therefore, avoid imposing

a priori respect for a particular social form. We must avoid the risk of deformation and consequent reaction that comes from trying to make children submit to a dogmatic education. It is well known that when parents try to impose their ideas on children the children often tend in the opposite direction when they grow up.

"The teacher should, therefore, remain as objective as possible during discussions. He sometimes must give his own judgment, but he should try to avoid influencing children toward his viewpoint. The teacher of little children should not tell them that his opinion differs from that of the state, if it does. He should rather teach them those things which are scientifically established, not his personal attitudes. In the secondary schools, he may, if occasion arises, state his personal view if counter to that of the state; but as I said before, he must not try to influence the children nor impose his authority on their free thinking. Let us avoid all indoctrination and propaganda.

"Coming to the question of child-centered education, a conflict between this and an education for adults for adult social needs is due to considering the extreme forms of each. It is the aim of education to prepare children for participation in all the economic, social and intellectual activities of humanity. It seems to us that the best way to prepare children to meet new problems is to let them see the continuity of human progress. We must give them the sense of the development of ideas, but not in a dogmatic or utilitarian way. We must give them historical perspective, and the ideal of themselves contributing to the future.

"While it is dangerous to give dogmatic instruction, it is also dangerous to leave children unguided to follow their



chance interests and fancies. They need touch with the general movements of mankind. Let them see the need for initiative, and for personal contributions to these human movements. We must guide them in the work of assimilating facts and comprehending laws. So we conceive the necessity of a program, but one which is not in a dogmatic form, one which will bring the child progressively into contact with more and more complex forms of society. It is more important to give an education which will form the children's will, their sensibility, their intelligence, and their initiative, than to try to make them familiar with a list of facts. We want a program of general psychological development rather than fact learning, although, of course, in going from the concrete to the abstract we must use facts.

"As to mental hygiene, we believe that the teacher is necessarily placed in the presence of problems of child adjustment; thus it is essential for him to understand the causes underlying his actions. Therefore, there must be collaboration with the family. In our present French curriculum we include moral instruction; but it is not of a psychiatric sort—it tends to be dogmatic, repressive. In the free manifestations of the child's affective life, we can find ways of educating him. The teacher should let the child's sentiments be manifested, as far as possible. The whole question is a delicate one. But we are definitely in favor of the introduction of the mental hygiene type of activity in the public schools of France.

"In summary, the Compagnons want to take the middle route, adapting the individual to collective life, but leaving him free acting and free thinking, placing him in contact

with the past and the future as he goes through successive steps of general development."

A very similar attitude on practically all the questions was expressed by Professor Basch, president of the League of Rights of Man. It is not necessary, therefore, to quote more than a few sentences from the interview with him. "In France as in most countries, there are not educational aims; there are educational traditions which are modified by the initiative of certain pedagogues and psychologists. If you were to pose these questions of yours to the Minister of Education he would be embarrassed—he carries on the tradition and ameliorates it. . . . Our aim is that democracy be realized, that all citizens may have equivalent, though different educations. A well-educated mechanic has as much value to society as a philosopher. . . . In state schools we do not impose on children the idea of a new society; we try to make them conscious citizens with the ideal of liberty and equality, economically as well as politically. In the last analysis, therefore, our schools cannot help leaning toward the socialist ideal. . . . Our children must realize that the welfare of the state and that of humanity are inseparable—that the separation of them is barbarism."

I took the occasion of the meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Science in Nancy to get the viewpoints of a physicist and a biologist. The physicist was Professor Pierron, to whom I have already referred as the president of the association. The biologist was Professor Etienne Rabaud.

"Every society naturally tries to maintain itself; so it is

impossible to conceive an entirely individualistic education," said M. Pierron. "Morality, for example, is a social question. We want the individual to follow a certain type of social development. Furthermore, one can't help envisaging a definite society as an educational goal.

"In general, I favor a socialistic type of society, but I see difficulties in the way of it. Let education develop altruism and social consciousness. Let the individual be as effective as possible. I wonder if Russia can develop the new generation toward its definite aim. The ideal is desirable, but I don't know whether it is possible of attainment. Let the science of education see whether it is possible. Biologically man is individualistic.

"I don't think the conscience of the individual is a reality. It is the result of social action. The collective conscience impresses itself on the individual, but there are contradictory elements in the collective.

"The dictates of the state are those of certain individuals who at the moment are in power. So the apparent conflict between individual beliefs and the commands of the government is not really a conflict between the individual and the state as such.

"I favor the liberty of sincere opinion. As to action—that's a delicate question, very difficult to decide in general. If the state is destroyed, the individual will be injured. One must see both sides. From the standpoint of thought, all the rights are with the individual; but in the realm of action, while I may be willing to suffer for my beliefs, the collectivity may be justified in trying to force me to do what it thinks necessary for its good.

As between the nation and humanity in general, cer-

tainly the interests of humanity and the world come first. The development of a spirit of human coöperation is of fundamental importance in education. The world is too small to be divided into little parts. We have one humanity. Although the unity is still in the making, and there are different types of civilization, our education must be toward world well-being. One type of civilization must not try to suppress another—we don't know which type is necessarily the best."

Like the Compagnons, Pierron was emphatically in favor of objective history teaching, of free discussion, and of the avoidance of propaganda by the teacher, for or against the government's point of view. He expressed a similar sentiment, also, in regard to child-centered education. "The aims are adult. Education is not for the child but toward the adult state. We must give the child's personality protection and safeguard his individuality. But education must fit him ultimately into the adult collective where he may live, and live better."

He also has given thought to the question of child adjustment. "Education must not only be for the intellect; the character and emotions of the child are fundamental. There should be coöperative activities in the school to develop creative work and social adjustments. Our present type of education fails to develop initiative and gives too much of a passive character to our children. This is very agreeable from some standpoints, but we need the spirit of initiative.

"The intimate problems of emotional development are very delicate. If teachers are to be given this task they must be selected very carefully with this work in mind."



The biologist, Rabaud, said: "Society is formed of individuals—people often forget that in France. One cannot obtain forcibly a specified society as Russia and Italy are trying to do. See what happens in the family when parents try to direct the children's way of thinking: they make a change in the children but not in the direction they wish. One can't direct people as one does a machine. Let us develop the child toward having opinions, but not toward some one opinion that happens to be held by the majority.

"If one is to be a part of a society, he must submit to its laws, but he should express his convictions freely even if such expression is against the law. One always has the right to convert his contemporaries to his point of view.

"People have a way of thinking that the nation is always right; but it is the world that is right. We must gradually educate our children to see things from the world standpoint. History in France is taught bestially—it is a series of wars. If we should teach it from the standpoint of social development instead our teaching would be objective."

Rabaud, too, favored complete freedom of discussion in the schools, and emphasized that the teacher must not force his opinion on the children, but rather, teach the children to reflect. "If the state pays the teacher to teach a doctrine, he must do it or resign, but the state should not do this. It should pay the teacher to train the children to think for themselves. General culture is the capacity to reflect."

Let me select one other type of person whose views are influencing French educational thought. Berthier is the founder and head of l'École des Roches, the first of the French "new schools." I visited his school several years ago

and found it typical of the best of the country boarding schools which sprang up in various parts of Europe, following Cecil Reddie's Abbotsholm and J. H. Badley's Bedales in England. Like the head masters of most of these schools, Berthier is fatherly, gentle, humanitarian, kindly, and a lover of children. He had had a meeting with his faculty a few days before my interview with him and had discussed with them the questions he knew I was going to ask.

"We would like gradually to create a new society, following the lines of Anglo Saxon development," said Berthier. "First, there must be freedom of action for the individual—opportunities for individual initiative. Second, there must be coöperative action for groups of individuals. And third, the individual must be prepared for a social evolution with increasing harmony of capital and work so that we may pass from the present form of conflict to a more coöperative form of society in which the workers will be given greater and greater responsibility."

From here on his opinions were in close accord with most of those which I have already quoted. Conscience must come first; the welfare of humanity must supersede the transitory attempt to bring about the welfare of individual nations; history should be the truth in the highest degree possible, children being given a method of work and research in the field of history, and the ability to use independent judgment; discussion should be completely free if in good faith and with respect. "The question of the teacher's influence in discussions is a real one to us. How far can we give the children the benefit of our experience without violating their own liberty?"

Berthier made the same attempt at synthesizing child-

centered education with education for adult social life as did the others. He was very positive in his stand on mental hygiene. "Incontestibly this is an essential function of education. The school must know and help the emotional life of the child. I do not know how far the Freudian theory can be used in school, but every teacher should at least be familiar with Freud's methods and conclusions. Personally I believe more in direction by the consciousness than in resuscitating the subconscious. Let us try to train children to direct their emotional life consciously. Let us consider the physical conditions, habits, sexual morals, profound sentiments of personal dignity, and the normal direction of affection and love. This can be done partly through coeducation and making the school family-like. Such organizations as the Boy Scouts help, both through the friendships they create and the ideals they instill. It is also very important that the school be a joyous place—I have no sympathy with a type of puritanism which makes for sadness. I want gayety, happiness, joy in the school. I would have as little of rewards and punishments as possible. Let the children participate in the school to such a degree that they consider it as their own, and voluntarily sacrifice themselves for the general good."

In none of my interviews in France did I find evidence of that nationalism and centralization of thinking which I had expected. I came to France rather prejudiced. My visit to French schools eight years ago had led me to believe that France was educationally dead. I had seen some of the worst phases of French imperial policy in Syria. I had been in Germany during the negotiations for the Hoover plan of

postponing debt payments and, like most Americans, had been irritated by France's temporizing. It came, therefore, as a complete surprise to find so much educational ferment and so universal a humanitarianism among educational leaders.

Nationalism of the type described so tellingly by Professor Hayes does exist. It is perhaps much more prevalent in parliament and among the masses of France than in the attitude I found among the educators. For example, one is faced in all the cities by great posters advertising the book, *Save Our Colonies*, by the perfume-king journalist, Francois Coty. A great red specter representing communism is shown inciting an armed Negro to revolt. Under this are such quotations as the following:

"We do not regard communism as a regular government. It is not a political party. It is an association of malefactors in the sense of the criminal code. It represents neither the government nor social institutions. It represents solely criminal jurisdiction. One does not discuss with an association of malefactors who have for their aim the destruction of the Fatherland and civilization."

"One cannot invoke the rights of freedom of opinion in favor of communism. The destruction of the Fatherland is not an opinion, it is a crime. A doctrine which advocates the carnage of civil war and espionage for the benefit of foreign lands is not a doctrine, it is an attack against the life of citizens and against the independence of the nation. It is a ban on the public conscience."

Nationalism and the fear of communism are real and potent in France. But is it not strikingly significant that in spite of this fact twenty thousand French elementary



teachers—one out of six—are allowed openly to unite in a Federation avowedly communistic in its tendencies? True, the French government forbids all religious and political propaganda and discussion in the schools. True, too, the highly centralized educational system determines what textbooks are to be used. But the attitude of the teachers, even though not overtly expressed, cannot fail to influence the attitude of the children. And even though only a minority of the teachers are communists, the great majority belong to a syndicate which is affiliated with the world labor movement and which is international and pacifistic in its outlook.

Under these conditions the next generation in France is not likely to be unitedly nationalist in its thinking. If education, and particularly the influence of the teacher's viewpoint, is effective, France bids fair to become one of the world's most peaceful and international-minded countries. For in no foreign country did we find the educational leaders so free from nationalism and in none except England did we find such insistence on the right of the child to think for himself, freely, critically and independently.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### ENGLAND—THE ANTITHESIS OF RUSSIA

ENGLAND is in many respects the antithesis of Soviet Russia. Whereas Russia is difficult to describe because of the vast intricacy and rapid development of her plans and organizations, England is difficult to describe because of the lack of any one definite plan, any universal organization.

Undoubtedly the most outstanding feature of Russia to-day is her attempt at planning everything. One of the things which is most striking in England is her planlessness. That England will "muddle through" her various difficulties has become proverbial. She certainly does not usually think them through. "Anyone who answers those questions of yours is a fool or a charlatan," exclaimed an important labor leader to me in London. "English people just don't think that way!" And the more I talked with English people, and the more I read, the more convinced I became that the lack of a clearly thought out program based on some sort of social philosophy is characteristically British.

Whether because of a resulting opportunism, or whether because the British possess so many compensating strong points, England has amazing achievements to her credit, in spite of her lack of consistent, far-seeing, organized planning. But perhaps some of the difficulties in which she was

plunged at the time of our visit were also due to this same lack of planning. While we were there Ramsey McDonald was deserting the Labor Party that elected him, to form his National Government. Unemployment and the dole were growing worse, not better. The second Round Table Conference in regard to India's demand for independence was about to be called, but without there being much hope of its finding a successful solution to the menacing Indian problem. England was not in a happy state.

Nowhere is England's planlessness more obvious than in her education. She assumes that her leaders will continue to be educated in the "public school," which we Americans must keep reminding ourselves is a private boarding school for boys of the upper classes, and is quite devoid of public support or control. These public schools are manned, for the most part, by graduates from Cambridge and Oxford, where there are no real training courses in education. Consequently the pedagogical methods in the public schools are antiquated and crude. The curriculum is largely classical and unrelated to contemporary life. The school is not expected to do the real educating of the students.

As Professor Fred Clark writes in the Yearbook of the International Institute: "It would be tragic in the highest degree if England, of all countries, should succumb to a naïve faith in school as the main educating medium, should ignore unduly the profound educating and unifying influences which are imminent in her historical and social life, and should attempt to substitute for them the clang and click of a purely pedagogic machine.

"The same fear of mechanized uniformity may account for a continuing prejudice, especially in the older schools,

against a systematic study of education. Discussions on education in England, even among teachers, still wear the air of a casual conversation. They are as amateurish in tone as discussions on politics. Rooted prejudices, social, personal, or traditional, do duty as principles, and a restricted empiricism governs conclusions. In no great country is there such ignorance of educational thought and practice elsewhere. In no great country is there such lack of fully organized and adequately equipped centers for the study of education. In no great country does there persist such a prejudice against systematic training of the teacher."

The head of one of the public schools which is trying to break away somewhat from old traditions, said to me, "From the moment a boy enters an English public school he is made to feel the necessity of conforming to the customs, manners, and ways of thinking of the high social stratum to which such schools belong. Originality, or thinking any different from one's fellows is the cardinal sin."

And Sir Michael Sadler writes: "England finds its philosophy through action instead of determining its action by the principles of philosophy. The English mind instinctively shrinks from self-disclosure because it fears that the latter may impair self-respect. It excels in home-spun wisdom on questions of sex, sovereignty, and belief."

This same point of view is again brought out by Professor Clark who says that the religious outlook in England has emphasized conduct rather than dogma, and that in such a soil rigidly formulated theory and doctrine, whether political, religious, or economic in spirit, could not flourish. "Unfolding life," he says, "has proved richer than closed doctrine and practical intuition more fruitful than labor-



ious deductions. How thoroughly Shakespearean it is! Of the infinite possibilities of expanding life itself, it seems to say, 'You never can tell, set the actors in the midst of circumstance, leave them alone and see what they make of their destiny.' . . .

"We have, therefore, a people which, as Keyserling points out, have an unconquerable prejudice against thinking, and above all against any insistence on intellectual problems. . . . A profound, clearly formulated thought does not fit into the normal framework of English life. . . . Not intelligence, but instinct—rising at the highest to intuition—is the English instrument of action."

A second respect in which England differs radically from Russia, or perhaps I should say from an idealized future Russia, is that nowhere, except perhaps in Japan, are class cleavages so sharp as in England. Whereas Russia is striving toward a classless society, there seems to be very little tendency in England toward a lowering of the social barriers between class and class. It is paradoxical that a country which has given political democracy so great an impetus should lag far behind most countries in social democracy.

Nowhere is snobbery more evident than in the schools. The head master previously quoted said to me at luncheon one day: "England, of course, is the most snobbish country in the world. People of the lower classes are looked upon by the public school boys as creatures of a different species. Those of the laboring class are so far different as to be regarded merely with apathy or curiosity. Sons of the more well-to-do trades-people, however, approach the higher social class closely enough to incur the hatred or contempt of the average public school boy. We train our boys to think

of themselves as members of the governing class, and assume that a certain type of character, plus social prestige and mental training in the classics, are sufficient to enable them to rule. The rise of ability on the part of the working classes is beginning to challenge this point of view, and fundamental changes in our oligarchical attitude are bound to take place."

Needless to say, this head master, although a public school product himself, is far from typical. He is revolting against many of the traditions of the type of school he represents.

Another public school product who has revolted, and has become an outstanding labor leader, said to me: "England fears the development of class consciousness, yet she does everything possible to stimulate it from the moment a public school boy is able to learn. The rise of our publicly supported secondary system and the assumption of power by its more practically trained graduates recruited from the masses will in time result in a contest for mastery, in which the public school products will be worsted."

To quote Professor Clark again: "Much English discussion of education, even when liberal in tone, is . . . saturated with class spirit, left largely undetected because of just that lack of self-objectivity that we have previously commented upon. . . . The class stratification of England has exercised and still exercises such a profound influence on the spirit and aims of English education that a right understanding of it is vital to any adequate grasp of the English philosophy of education. . . . The want of constructive, critical foresight and imaginative plasticity, to which we have referred, may be not unconnected with the

class structure of English society and with the practical concentration until recently of political powers in the hands of one class."

It would be unfair to quote this much from Professor Clark without saying that he goes on to show that in spite of this wide gulf, there is in England a wide area of shared tradition, a common interest in sport, a common pride in the achievements of England and her place in the world, and, especially in the countryside, a common interest in a way of life that remains gracious and courteous and close to nature. He points out the increased opportunities for people of all classes in recent years and the tendency of aristocracy to recruit itself from the Commons. "It may be argued," he says, "that the distinctions are only superficial, a sort of social convenience like a directorate that is readily acquiesced in and does not touch the fundamental unity of spirit and culture that lies beneath a unity." That was clearly evident during the World War and the general strike. "But," he adds, "when all exaggeration has been discounted, it remains true that social distinctions are more strongly operative in English life and in English education than the home observer himself steeped in the atmosphere is usually qualified to estimate."

While to an American the class cleavage in England seems deplorable, and to an observer of world affairs seems fraught with great danger of upheaval, Professor Clark thinks it is an element which has produced England's contribution to the solution of one of the world's greatest problems—"the problem of preserving political cohesion while allowing at the same time free scope to nationalist cultures." Political cohesion need not demand cultural uniformity. If

the political state (I am summarizing Professor Clark's arguments) can dissociate itself from the various cultures whose existence it should protect, there need be no loss of the desirable aspect of nationalism in a world politically united. "In no country is political cohesion more complete and unquestioned than in England. Propaganda by the state through the schools in the interest of political unity is virtually unknown, and any disposition toward it would meet with the strongest resistance from public opinion. Conversely, there is equally strong resistance against attempts to obstruct the right of any body of opinion, however unpopular, to give substance to its aims by instituting its own means of education."

It is in this matter of freedom of thought for the individual that one finds a third striking contrast between England and Russia. As will appear when we discuss the answers given by Englishmen to our questions, the individual is extremely important in England. The individual has perhaps more right to think and speak for himself, he is more free from social and political pressure, than in any other country.

Russia's subordination of the individual to the collective is too well known to require comment. The individual counts only insofar as he may contribute to the collective and as he agrees with it in its general purpose. There is freedom of speech and action to the extent that it may contribute toward a more effective way of reaching the goal upon which the collective has agreed, but no one must tamper with that goal, nor must there be any breach of party discipline, nor the formation of an opposition press or opposition party.



England thrives on opposition. The whole parliamentary scheme is built on the idea of opposition. A public school boy may be socially ostracized for his originality, but adult society allows the widest latitude of individual thought, speech, and action.

"The lesson of complete subordination cannot be taught in England, because the whole history of our country is one of revolt against authority, of liberty obtained through struggle," said the Honorable H. A. L. Fisher of Oxford, in answer to one of my questions. I suppose that England is in certain respects one of the most law-abiding countries in the world, yet she respects the right of the individual to revolt against constituted authority and allows the advocacy of such revolt (short of violent revolution) in her public parks. An old Londoner said: "The police are present, of course, when a speaker in Hyde Park or Trafalgar Square is haranguing his hearers. But they are there not to protect the hearers from what the soap box orator may be saying, but to protect the orator from the hearers in case he offends them too seriously!"

What about the results of these differences between England and Russia? One may expect better organization in Russia. One fears for considerable disintegration, certainly for ineffective organization in England. With considerable confidence, I think, one may expect equalization of wealth and social opportunities in Russia, while one is distressed by the wide gulf between classes in England. If Russia succeeds with her present plan, and especially if she is able to change Russian traditional nature through her far-flung educational schemes, she will be one of the most efficient countries in the world. England, on the other hand, is liable

to continue to struggle with unemployment, competitive production, and the other inefficiencies characteristic of individualistic enterprise. Russia may be looked to to plan her future consciously, definitely, and with a long view ahead. England will probably continue opportunistic, perhaps wriggling out of the Indian situation as she did out of the Irish, with many blunders and much unnecessary struggle on the way.

But will Russia produce the individual thinkers that England has produced and is likely to continue to produce? Will we have Shakespeares and Shaws, Wellses and Chestertons, Huxleys and Russells, growing up in Russian soil? Can the diversity of ways of thinking which have characterized England's contribution to the world flourish in an efficiently mechanized, equalized, and disciplined nation? May it not be that England's very planlessness allows flexibility and freshness of approach to problems as they are met; that her social cleavage, lamentable as it is in many respects, may result in greater varieties of approach to thought and life and a broader tolerance for quite different ways of doing things than would come in a more uniform society? And is not England's individualism a much needed antidote for the autocracy not only of dictators but of governments which are republican in form?

In spite of its individualism and its broad political tolerance, England has a remarkably consistent outlook on many educational problems. England has shown that unity of thought can, where necessary, emerge from a ground of complete freedom of thought; that unity of action to the extent of building the world's greatest empire, can exist without governmental compulsion and in spite of oligarchi-

cal social cleavages; that unity of national culture can flourish in the absence of unified and centralized education. These are arresting and significant facts in a world which in many places is attempting to find a way out of its present problems through one form or another of centralization and absolutism.

In a country which is characterized by its tendency to meet each situation as it arises, instead of thinking through to certain guiding principles, it is difficult to discover leaders of educational thought. A number of people in England told us there were no such persons. Education was too decentralized. Each person's influence applied to his own particular field or locality and was more an influence of his personality and his aptness in handling specific situations than an influence of his philosophy and thinking.

Nevertheless, most people conceded that there were a few persons who were well known and who through their position or their writings were affecting British education. One of these was unquestionably Sir Percy Nunn.

Sir Percy is head of the London Day Training College of the University of London. He has lectured in New York at Columbia University and is familiar with American ways of thinking.

The first day I was in London Sir Percy asked me to join him and another American, Professor Stuart Courtis of the University of Michigan, at luncheon in the Athenaeum Club, which was founded by Sir Humphry Davy and the great Michael Faraday more than a hundred years ago. There, amidst memories of Dickens and Thackeray and Victorian England, the three of us discussed

American statistical methods of approaching educational problems. It was in Sir Percy's little suburban home, however, overlooking his rose garden, that he and I discussed his philosophy of education while we partook of Lady Nunn's tea. Sir Percy has given more real thought to the sort of question in which I was interested than anyone else whom I interviewed in England. He has a clear, definite mind and a typically British outlook on educational problems. He said:

"It is too big a presumption for a person to try to dictate what society should be. Of course I accept wholeheartedly the ideals of democracy, by which I mean the steeping of all social institutions with the one purpose of conducing to the perfection of the individual.

"All social institutions have an educational character. Being an Englishman I generally share the conservative outlook of the country and believe there is a great deal of virtue in our old institutions; but I do not want to hold them unchanged. There is a life and growth in our institutions and I look to our boys and girls to give them a shape that is desirable. Yet I do not in the least wish to prescribe what that shape should be.

"In England we do not seek to develop national consciousness. We assume it. You in America are compelled to take definite steps to develop it. It is true that we have an Empire Day in the elementary schools, but not elsewhere, as it seems a little ridiculous. The Englishman doesn't like to dramatize his emotions. But we take it for granted that national consciousness will grow in many other ways.

"I don't know that we should want it to supersede the individual conscience. We have on the whole great respect



for the man who stands up fair and square against the state's demands. We treated the conscientious objector better than did any other country during the World War. Our fighting men at the front had much respect for him. When Bertrand Russell was imprisoned because he carried his opposition to the war to a dangerous extent, he was dismissed by Trinity College at Cambridge; but the younger dons on their return from the front wanted him rehabilitated. Their attitude was entirely different from that of the older ones who had stayed at home. In the University of London we have a well-known professor who was a conscientious objector during the war. Yet he is one of the most respected of the professors. You see, there was no question as to his sincerity, and England regards sincerity as more important than conformity with national attitudes. This can also be seen in the extreme differences of view in Parliament. It is characteristically English and runs through our schools. I think it tremendously important to preserve this attitude.

"There is in England a growing acceptance of the idea that we ought to subordinate national interest to world interest, and there is a growing readiness to make even considerable sacrifice to that end. Certainly all our better teachers share this attitude. I doubt if many responsible persons would now publicly take the other view.

"As to the teaching of history, we should aim to be objective. Naturally, however, we must teach the young of a particular nationality the things of special interest to that nation. We must be careful in doing this not to distort the record, as almost all history textbooks the world over have tended to do. Above all we must not glorify our bad acts.

I believe the English textbooks show more of the American side of the American Revolution than they do of the English side. Lately a few, taking their cue from the American textbooks, are showing that England, too, had a side. We don't glorify the Plantagenet conquest of France. On the other hand, we do not emphasize sufficiently the debt that our nation owes to most other nations.

"A number of schools teach world history to give a proper setting to national history. But there is danger of being abstract and losing vividness. A more fruitful direction would be the teaching of comparative history. We should show, for example, that a national movement like the feudal system, and like the revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century, is really international. We often fail to do this in our schools. I remember that when I was a schoolboy I did not realize that our great Reform Movement of 1832 was connected with the French Revolution of 1830. We shall have less temptations to depart from objectivity of history teaching if we see the interrelations of the various movements in different countries.

"Discussion in school should be completely free. I can't think of any questions, except perhaps sexual, and I am not even sure about those, which children may not discuss.

"In such discussions the teacher's fundamental duty is to see that each side of the question is fairly stated. Where the teacher has strong convictions of his own, he may not be able to disguise them, nor should he necessarily violently repress them. But his main function is education—drawing out the children. It is not his function to spread any kind of propaganda."

At this point I described the technique used by Louise

Mohr, one of our social science teachers in Winnetka. "She uses a more or less Socratic method," I said, "leading the children on with her questions. If she sees them swinging toward a particular point of view, she leads them by her questions to a fairly definite commitment. Then with further questioning she takes the opposite side. She is the advocate for the minority viewpoint, pleading that side not by direct argument, but by shrewdly put questions. The children are never sure what her personal beliefs are, but they are never allowed to come to any conclusions without having first thought their problems through, and without having their conclusions subject to rigorous cross-questioning."

"That is just the method I would favor," said Sir Percy. "It is great fun, too."

"Now in regard to the curriculum: On the whole I lean toward the child-centered school. The aim of education should at the bottom be cultural, bringing the child with all his individual attitudes and interests into fruitful contact with the cardinal human traditions—letters, art, science, mathematics, crafts—and letting him get what he can out of them.

"In teaching one should take one's materials from the things of to-day. Interest in science should be fed by present achievements and movements. On the other hand, education should be inspired by historic considerations—more so than it is in the United States. I do not mean that it should be antiquarian, but we should be guided in making our curriculum by our knowledge of what has played and is therefore likely to continue to play a vital part in shaping human evolution and spirit.

"While I think I agree speculatively with Dr. Kilpatrick, it is so fearfully difficult to organize a school on the project method that I should hesitate to tell my students to do so. Most of them would make a mess of it. Yet I am convinced that with the best teachers one can get the most fruitful results by seeing that the child comes into contact with an environment that is broad and stimulating, and letting him learn through his activities. When I speak of best teachers I mean those who see the broad social demands so clearly that they would not think of letting children grow up without some knowledge concerning the problems and situations they are going to meet and some technique for meeting them.

"After all, the child-centered idea is an abstract one. The teacher is an important factor in the child's environment and it is his duty to see that the child comes in contact with the skills and information he is going to need when he grows up. These things should not be forced on the children, but the children should be given the opportunity to see the need for them. Like the typical Englishman I am a compromiser and want to have both things. I like the Montessori system, where the children may do exactly as they please, but where the teacher decides exactly what the child pleases to do.

"Mental hygiene is important. In every big school system there should be an organization to deal with divergencies, and every teacher should have enough knowledge to know what cases to refer and how not to accentuate repressions and conflicts. Child guidance clinics are spreading a good deal in England. I believe this movement has a vital place in education, but it will take some time to convince



the average English administrator, who is afraid of Freud and the hysterical tendency toward him that some of our women possess. On the other hand, I was talking just recently with a man who wanted to see me about the establishment of a child clinic, and who wants to supplement the work of the teachers' professional training with training in this field. This is a symptom. All enlightened people feel that mental hygiene is a subject in which we must make considerable advances."

Sir Percy's views represented what seemed to be the most liberal English attitude, yet the various others whom we interviewed did not differ radically from Sir Percy on most points. Sir Henry Hadow, the chairman of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, expressed views quite consistent on the whole with those of Sir Percy Nunn. Sir Henry Hadow is not a professional educator—musical criticism is, I believe, his speciality. Perhaps this is as symptomatic of the British attitude toward education as any other one fact. The Board of Education in England is roughly comparable to the secretariat of a Ministry of Education. To get advice on its educational policies it has a Consultative Committee. A number of the members of this Committee are laymen. Almost none are really professionally trained educators. This Committee, headed by a layman, works out reports and recommendations of what we in America would consider a purely professional sort. Where Americans would employ a body of experts—professionally trained men and women with wide experience in education—England secures the services of interested, enthusiastic and intelligent persons, most of whom know

very little about the technique of education and few of whom have had to meet by direct experience the problems which they are discussing.

Sir Henry Hadow is a fine example. He is devoted to his work, has written in an interesting and scholarly way on the nature of training for citizenship, and has guided his Consultative Committee through the preparation of several thought-stimulating and painstakingly made reports on primary education, secondary education, etc.

Another man who has greatly influenced official education in England is the Honorable H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College, Oxford University. He is the author of the well-known Fisher Acts, which brought about a reorganization of English education. As I sat in the study of this fine, white-haired scholar on the historic campus of Oxford, I had a feeling that my questions seemed to him a little annoying and somewhat beside the point. He answered them all courteously and thoughtfully enough. But it was obvious that in some instances the problems presented had never occurred to him. His views came as near as anyone's to being really different from Sir Percy Nunn's, but there were more points of agreement than disagreement. Perhaps his differences were more differences of emphasis and implication than of direct answer. For example, like Sir Percy, he said: "I don't regard education as an instrument to be definitely used to secure particular political results." On the other hand, he felt that if the individuals were fully and adequately developed, they would realize that the English system was the best. "We have abolished all unfair political and social disabilities in England," he said. "We have a free press, universal suffrage, free career for talent,

What more do we want? Let us teach the citizen to use the constitutional liberties he already possesses."

"How about economic equality of opportunity?" I suggested.

"As far as our constitution goes there is nothing to prevent a person from rising from the bottom to the top of the scale economically. We have elementary education for all, secondary for almost all able children, and wide university education. Fifty per cent of our students have some scholarship help. There has been immense redistribution of wealth during the past twenty-five years. Economic changes can take place under our existing machinery. Our constitutional machinery ought not necessarily to be preserved in detail. Minute changes are going on all the time. But broadly speaking, we live in a democratic civilization with a democratic constitution, and they are here to stay. Wild communism might be met by wild fascism, but that would be catastrophe. We should educate to avoid catastrophe."

Like Sir Percy and Sir Henry Hadow, Mr. Fisher wanted objective history as far as that was practicable and wanted freedom of discussion. But again there was a qualification:

"I am not saying that these subjects should be discussed in school hours. The time available is so small for the necessary subjects of the curriculum that it is better to do the regular work than to discuss controversial topics which really require mature judgment. Such discussions should take place outside of school hours."

One very interesting interview was with a member of the Labor Party, a writer on educational subjects, and a man exerting considerable influence on educational pol-

icies. Unfortunately he requested that the interview with him should not be given under his name. He was the one who said, "Anyone who answers those questions of yours is either a charlatan or a fool. Englishmen don't think that way!" He then proceeded to answer the questions—anonynously. To a considerable extent his views were typical, but he cast refreshing sidelights on English educational thinking.

"It doesn't matter what the professor teaches. He is only a professor. We in England don't feel that education counts. England is so self-satisfied that we don't bother to teach that this is the best country in the world. Everyone knows it!

"Englishmen really feel that education is not desirable, that it gives the children absurd ideas as to their place in the world.

"The Hadow report made a number of constructive suggestions. No sooner was it published than people said: 'Yes, yes, how nice,' and did exactly the opposite.

"Our public schools are a frightful liability. In them we organize class distinctions and class feelings as soon as little boys can talk. Yet we are in a transitional state between a stratified society with great inequality of economic conditions and a newer order. Our public schools and our schools in general are really striving for a perpetuation of the anti-equalitarian type of society that has existed in England for so long.

"I personally wish society could be equalitarian. I should like through the elementary schools to cultivate the kind of spirit which will bring about a more equal kind of society, but I would not indoctrinate or use propaganda.

"I would even deprecate the teaching of a new estab-



lished ethics. We don't want a pope. We want every person to follow his own individual conscience.

"History is a dreadful subject. Most people are so concerned with learning the facts that they don't have time to think. It is unconsciously nationalistic; therefore it is childishly inadequate. The teaching of history in elementary schools should have no relation to nationalism. It should concern itself with the whole cultural, religious, social, scientific, and industrial history of Europe and the world. The part played by national ambitions and wrangles is a special subject dealing with a morbid phenomenon."

G. H. Gater is the Education Officer of the London County Council. This corresponds approximately to what we in America would call the Superintendent of the London Schools. He and his assistant, E. T. Bennet, were perhaps typical of officialdom in British education in their answers to our questions. To a very considerable extent they expressed the same ideas as Sir Percy Nunn, Sir Henry Hadow, and Mr. Fisher. However, a few of the things which they emphasized, as we sat in their large inner office of the London County Council building on the bank of the Thames, should be especially quoted.

"The tail wags the dog," Mr. Gater said. "It is the thinking of the individual schoolmaster that determines our official policies. We give our masters a wide margin of freedom, subject only to this condition: we don't allow propaganda of any kind in our schools. We are very sensitive about any bias along political lines in one direction or another. No limits are definitely laid down, but the teacher knows when he has gone over the line. The London County

Council and Board of Education have no official regulations dealing with the question of controversial issues, but there is a general feeling backed by public sentiment that the school must be kept free of political and religious controversies. Children may debate questions, but the teacher must not show himself to be a strong protagonist one way or the other. He must hold his balance evenly. In the higher forms, the students may know the teacher's point of view. Discussions of communism? Yes, certainly they are allowed, but they are not likely to take place in the elementary school. If a communist pupil wanted to express his views, the head teacher would probably be a little careful about having a discussion, lest anti-communist parents would disapprove. The amount of freedom a teacher takes depends largely on his own skill and ability. The less skilled teacher will play for safety. My own view is that we should give teachers the maximum of autonomy, with an understanding that there shall be no propaganda. A mature mind must not influence an immature one one-sidedly.

"In the general strike our attitude was that the state must come first, not the individual conscience. The law must be carried out. We had at that time a communist teacher who put her name on the strike manifesto. She was tried and dismissed, on the ground that a teacher who disobeyed the state in an emergency should not be in charge of children.

"But while in times of great national crisis it is necessary to repress the individual whose actions are dangerous, we, being English, compromise in the end. In general we want people to follow their own beliefs and conscience.

We would favor educating children to follow their own consciences.

"You know, in our sloppy English way we don't think things out like this. We don't set up general principles, but analyze a particular case after it has occurred. If a master should take a definite line of instructing children always to obey their conscience against the state, we should be surprised and should decide at the time what to do.

"Similarly, we haven't really faced the problem of nationalism versus internationalism. We must follow the growth of public opinion. The ordinary man or woman would not be willing to subordinate the national to the international interest, so the schools naturally don't proceed along those lines. Any ordinary English boy or girl is nationalist from birth. Yet there is valuable work going on for the League of Nations. I personally hope that in the next decade our schools will bring in the international side much more strongly, although I would not have them attempt the conscious teaching of the relative importance of national and international interests. But I should like to have our children know about other countries and be considerate of their welfare.

"Even if one wished to control the objectivity of history, it would have a flavor of the person teaching it. I should attempt to be as impartial as possible, but should not depreciate the good deeds of my own country. I should not wish, for example, to carry the teaching of the World War from both sides to the extent of risking a bias against the English point of view; but I approve of the recent tendency of textbooks to show the German side of the World War to a rather surprising degree. I should like to have our children

realize that while we naturally incline to believe England was right, there was a German side too."

Let me quote a few of the statements of one more person.

J. F. Roxborough, the head of the Stowe School, Buckingham, sat with me at lunch in the Savile Club and talked earnestly about his work. He is a rather young man, the product of a typical English public school, who is now the head of a new public school. While conforming to many of the public school traditions, he is trying to break away from what seemed to him its worst evils.

"The public school boy must never differ from his fellows. He must think and act like all the rest. I would like to liberalize this situation. On the other hand the public school has the advantage that it can afford to be educative. Our job is to make the best of the individual entrusted to us, leaving his profession and his political attitude to settle themselves. All I have to do is to make the best possible human beings. We in England are not a new republic trying to reform ourselves. We regard ourselves as safe and are therefore not driven by fear to regulate children's opinions.

"I object strongly to any tendenciousness in education. Education must not be a weapon in the hands of the governor. History with a tendency is treachery to education.

"In teaching the lives of heroes we must recognize that the young mind is not good at the sense of proportion. If a boy realizes, for example, that Gordon took too much whiskey and went into foolish religious things, he may feel that Gordon was all bad and become cynical. To get a just view by the adolescent, we may have to minimize Gordon's faults.



The boy thinks his father and mother, and so on, are perfect. If we start too early to show weaknesses, we make him cynical. Whole-hearted admiration is a fine quality in boys.

"As to the nation's faults, however, the nation's virtues are so emphasized by the newspapers and by general patriotic sentiment that we can afford to show the faults in school.

"Let us go for the international point of view every time. I have always been interested in Chesterton's parody, 'My mother, drunk or sober.' There is no more sense in the dictum, 'My country, right or wrong.'

"I don't know much about mental hygiene. Sometimes I send extreme cases to experts. For the ordinary boy the danger is that mental hygiene will make him too introspective and too self-conscious and will excuse his little lazinesses, and so on. I believe in cure, rather than prevention. I think most maladjustments are not so much due to the failure of the individual to meet real life situations, as to the failure of the sort of community life we have in school to meet the needs of the individual. We need to change the school."

There was more consonance among the views of the English people whom I interviewed than among the views of the people of any other nationality except Japan and Russia. The most decentralized nation educationally rivaled the two most centralized ones in uniformity of thought, or perhaps I should say in uniformity of approach to the type of question I raised. Certainly there is plenty of divergence of political views in England. And there are the wide social gaps.

Let me close this chapter with a quotation from Charles E. Merriam's, *The Making of Citizens*.<sup>1</sup>

"The English system is then one of the most indirect, yet on the whole one of the most effective of all those considered in this study. Ostensibly a system without a system, apparently with no effort at all in design or accomplishment, it is in reality one of the most intricate and carefully adapted to the social and economic forces it must interpret. It has not only art, but the art that conceals art from eyes that are not too critical of political presuppositions and educational procedures."

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press, 1931.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### THE UNITED STATES

FROM its inception the United States has been a country of contradictions. The Pilgrim Fathers came in the name of religious freedom, and then turned on those of other faiths as ruthlessly as their persecutors had turned on them. The Constitution of the United States specifies that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, yet the very groups which sanctify the Constitution and the early fathers of the country do what they can to repress these rights. In the name of patriotism and Americanism, organizations arrogate to themselves the right to decide what persons should be allowed to speak from public platforms, what doctrines should be taught in schools, what persons are to be considered anti-American and dangerous radicals. While such organizations were more common during the World War, they still exist—quixotic defenders of their particular doctrines of Americanism against what seem to them the dangers of radical attack. Arrayed against such activities of the repressive sort are organizations like the Civil Liberties Union, vigorously defending the rights of free speech. The great mass of the American people does not in normal times concern itself very much with either of these extremes, but tends to listen more or less tolerantly

to widely divergent views and to discuss with varying degrees of heat the pros and cons of controversial issues.

The fact that there is less tolerance in America than in England is due, partly to America's newness, partly to the comparatively recent immigration of people from many other lands and the necessity for amalgamating them, and partly to the general enthusiasm for a cause, which is characteristically American. When an American believes a thing, he generally believes it hard and wants everyone else to believe as he does.

Besides the conflicts between freedom and intolerance, there are many other contradictions in American life. Internationalism, for example, is beginning to struggle against nationalistic patriotism. America's tradition of isolation, her suspicion of European diplomacy—certainly well-grounded—and her principal acquaintance with foreigners through the more ignorant and backward type of immigrant, have led to a national complacency, a sense of superiority to foreigners, and a strong reaction against "entangling alliances" with other countries. In the case of some groups this nationalistic attitude is rationalized and justified by the doctrine of self-interest. *The Chicago Tribune* in an editorial recently published defends this point of view as follows:

The Tribune, as the readers of this page know, upholds as a cardinal point of policy the interest of the region for which it is published. This is sometimes criticized as short-sighted, selfish and unwisely parochial. To The Tribune it seems quite otherwise. An honest promotion of self-interest does not require the doing of



injury elsewhere, and it is within general human experience that injury at home begins with the neglect of rights and opportunities.

The Tribune is for the United States and against Europe when interests are in conflict. It believes that the first duty of Americans is to their own country. When they find reasons for the other view the motives are not commendable nor are the consequences desirable. Both in private life and in government action it will be found an absorbing task to serve the United States. This is a trust which reposes in citizenship and is the primary obligation of government.

The Tribune is for this section of the United States against the eastern seaboard. The interests of the two regions often conflict, and those of the east are almost invariably better served. The seat of government is in the east. Many of the most attractive associations are there. The center of political gravity is in the east. The private interests most favorably regarded by government are there. Political discrimination runs to eastern interest. Without contributing more to government it gets more from it. It is more ably represented in both official and private contacts. The midwest does not hold its own and must constantly make a fight to do so or take the consequences of neglect which will affect its welfare.

Further in application of these doctrines of public policy The Tribune prefers the interests of Illinois to those of neighboring states. For the most part the region has a community welfare which unites the states in common purpose. In most projects their citizens see eye to eye, and there is little conflict. Frequently the common

good cuts across state lines without regard for the political boundaries.

When it is necessary The Tribune is for the metropolitan area against the rural districts, when they try for unjust advantages to the detriment of the city dwellers.

This policy of honestly following justified self-interest is a practical one. It will work out to the greatest advantage to the greatest numbers. It is a just policy for the nation against the rest of the world, and it is just for the narrower community. Fair arrangements come from the negotiations of well represented interests. That states the case for The Tribune's doctrine, and there are some millions of people hereabouts who agree with it.

Against these tendencies there is a growing body of opinion fostered by liberals, by educators, by many ministers, by foreign travel and foreign trade, and by such international organizations as the Rotary Clubs. Professor Merriam in discussing this issue says: "Unquestionably a degree of egotism in the individual has a functional survival value and the same may be said of nations, but it is equally true that the over-selfish individual imperils his position and prospects in a group of equals where interdependence is important for their common advancement. In a rapidly changing world where intercommunication develops at an unparalleled rate the overdevelopment of the ego-complex in nations may be unsalutary for the nation or nations developing it."<sup>1</sup>

The conflict between nationalism and internationalism

<sup>1</sup> Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens* (1931). Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

in America was dramatically displayed at the time of the World War, when America first held aloof "in splendid isolation," and then plunged into the war with a fervor for "making the world safe for democracy" that reached its climax with the instigation of the League of Nations. Then came the nationalistic reaction which left the fatherless League stranded in the lap of Europe. Those now in responsible positions in the United States realize international obligations and interdependence and cautiously feel their way toward increased coöperation with other countries and the League, only to be constantly held back by Congressional leaders and by newspapers and organizations which reflect the provincial point of view.

An analogous and perhaps related conflict is that between America's idealism and its materialism. Both elements exist in great measure. In America's relinquishment of the Boxer indemnity, in its freeing of Cuba, in its aid to foreign countries or its own people at times of calamity, its idealism is real and splendid. In its relations to Nicaragua and the Philippines, on the other hand, the idealism is often a thin veneer for selfish purposes, like England's white man's burden and France's mandate over Syria. It is easy to understand Japan's perplexity when the United States protests so vigorously against Japan's doing in Manchuria what the United States has insisted upon her right to do in Haiti and Mexico—she does not understand that America is neither consistently selfish nor consistently idealistic.

One gets an interesting insight into American idealism, somewhat harmonized with materialism, in such a typically American organization as Rotary International. The motto, "He profits most who serves best," is a perfect example.

The Rotary Code of Ethics is highly idealistic and exerts more influence on the thought and action of thousands of business and professional men than Rotary's critics will ever admit. But Rotary is composed of successful business and professional men and their success is largely measured in terms of material gain.

Since the Rotary Code has been made the basis for many other codes of ethics, and since it is an illuminating exposition of the idealism, theoretical or real, of the so-called "hard-headed business man," let me quote it here:

My business standards shall have in them a note of sympathy for our common humanity. My business dealings, ambitions and relations shall always cause me to take into consideration my highest duties as a member of society. In every position in business life, in every responsibility that comes before me, my chief thought shall be to fill that responsibility and discharge that duty so when I have ended each of them, I shall have lifted the level of human ideals and achievements a little higher than I found it. In view of this, it is my duty as a Rotarian,—

1—To consider my vocation worthy, and as affording me distinct opportunity to serve society.

2—To improve myself, increase my efficiency and enlarge my service, and by so doing attest my faith in the fundamental principle of Rotary, that he profits most who serves best.

3—To realize that I am a business man and ambitious to succeed; but that I am first an ethical man and wish no success that is not founded on the highest justice and morality.



4—To hold that the exchange of my goods, my service and my ideas for profit is legitimate and ethical, provided that all parties in the exchange are benefited thereby.

5—To use my best endeavors to elevate the standards of the vocation in which I am engaged, and so to conduct my affairs that others in my vocation may find it wise, profitable and conducive to happiness to emulate my example.

6—To conduct my business in such a manner that I may give a perfect service equal to or even better than my competitor, and when in doubt to give added service beyond the strict measure of debt or obligation.

7—To understand that one of the greatest assets of a professional or of a business man is his friends and that any advantage gained by reason of friendship is eminently ethical and proper.

8—To hold that true friends demand nothing of one another and that any abuse of the confidence of friendship for profit is foreign to the spirit of Rotary, and in violation of its Code of Ethics.

9—To consider no personal success legitimate or ethical which is secured by taking unfair advantage of certain opportunities in the social order that are absolutely denied others, nor will I take advantage of opportunities to achieve material success that others will not take because of the questionable morality involved.

10—To be not more obligated to a Brother Rotarian than I am to every other man in human society; because the genius of Rotary is not in its competition; but in its coöperation; for provincialism can never have a place in an institution like Rotary, and Rotarians assert that

Human Rights are not confined to Rotary Clubs, but are as deep and as broad as the race itself; and for these high purposes does Rotary exist to educate all men and all institutions.

11—Finally, believing in the universality of the Golden Rule, *all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them*, we contend that Society best holds together when equal opportunity is accorded all men in the natural resources of this planet.

By implication this Code of Ethics points to the existence of opposite practices prevalent in American business. American economic life is based to a large extent upon competition between organizations attempting to make sales in which there is often warfare of the most crass and materialistic sort—a warfare which extends into political life and is at the root of much of the political corruption of America.

Perhaps the greatest anachronism in American life is the present economic depression. The depression, of course, is world wide, but it is more reasonable in other countries than here. Countries which do not raise enough foodstuffs for their own people and those which are dependent upon outside markets for manufactured goods in order to buy raw materials will naturally be seriously affected if markets are lacking. Countries like China, India, the Arab Lands, and Turkey are still in so backward a condition agriculturally and industrially and, in certain cases, in so torn a condition politically that prosperity would be surprising. Russia, straining every sinew to do the seemingly impossible thing of transforming herself from an agricultural to an industrial nation and changing the psychology of one hundred

and forty million people in two decades, naturally suffers. Dismembered Austria with her richest farm lands gone to Jugo-Slavia, her best industrial centers gone to Czecho-Slovakia, seems doomed to tragedy. But America, supposedly self-sufficient, rolling in wealth, with factories built, the most modern machinery installed, rich farm lands under cultivation, almost limitless power available, natural resources in the midst of development; America with her genius for organization, with her universal education extending higher than in any country of the world—for America to be plunged in the gloom of despondency, to have hunger stalking in her streets, is tragically ludicrous. While her bins are bursting with grain and her storehouses are flooded with cotton, people are crying out for food and clothes.

In this preposterous situation those in a position of leadership are supine and helpless. Business leaders cower and wait for the storm to blow over. One would think that the depression was as far removed from man's control as is the climate.

While theories as to the causes of the depression are as numerous as the theorists, there are at least two elements concerning which almost everyone will agree. The first and more basic is that the development of machinery has made it possible to produce more materials with less man power, and has consequently thrown people out of work while producing more things than people need or are able to buy. A second factor, perhaps less directly responsible for the economic breakdown but important when one considers remedial measures, is the breakdown of the American political system. The form of representative democracy, origi-

nated when the country was relatively small and when the town meeting was a natural political unit, is proving hopelessly unwieldy under modern conditions. The corruption in municipal politics in such cities as Chicago and New York, and the less flagrant but nevertheless prevalent corruption in state and even national politics, are too familiar to need elaboration. At first it was hoped by some that woman suffrage would put an end to such corruption. Direct votes for senators, the initiative, referendum, and recall, and similar measures have been tried, with meager results. Again American leaders find themselves helpless before their problem.

America is still in the making. The adjustment of its many conflicts and discrepancies is going to take years, perhaps generations, of experience and education.

The lack of centralization in American education and the wide diversity of views held by American educators made it necessary to talk with a considerable number of leaders or to get their written opinions, in order to represent at all accurately a cross-section of the kinds of thinking which are likely to determine the direction and aim of American education in the near future.

In addition to a number of individual interviews I was fortunate in having the reactions of a group of leaders known as the "Cleveland Conference."

The Cleveland Conference consists of sixty-five men, supposed to be outstanding leaders in the educational profession. It includes several college and university presidents, deans of colleges of education, professors of education, the heads of two or three large foundations which give



money to education, the heads of a few teacher training colleges, and half a dozen superintendents of schools. The Conference meets annually in Chicago with no fixed program, but with a mimeographed list of questions submitted by its members for discussion. At each session these questions are thrown open for debate. They are threshed out quite informally, but sometimes illuminatingly.

The December 1931 session of the Cleveland Conference devoted one evening to some of the questions which I had been putting to educational leaders around the world. Among those who participated in the discussion that night were Professor Ernest Horn of the University of Iowa; Professor George D. Strayer of Columbia University; Dr. B. R. Buckingham, formerly at Ohio State University, now editor for a large school book publishing house; Dr. Henry Suzalo, formerly president of the University of Washington and now president of the Carnegie Foundation; Dr. Jesse H. Newlon, head of the Lincoln School; Superintendent Studebaker of Des Moines; Professor Charles H. Judd of the University of Chicago; Dean M. E. Haggerty of the University of Minnesota; President George Frasier of Colorado State Teachers College; Dean Paul C. Packer of the University of Iowa; President D. B. Waldo of the Western Michigan State Teachers College; Superintendent A. L. Threlkeld of the Denver Public Schools; Professor Edwin L. Holton of Kansas Agricultural College; and Professor George S. Counts of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Most of the people from whom written replies were received were members of the Cleveland Conference, although several of them did not attend the particular session

where our questions were discussed. Professor Ernest Horn of the University of Iowa and Superintendent Threlkeld of the Denver Public Schools both participated in the Conference and gave full written answers to all the questions. Professor William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University, and Professor Harold Rugg of the same institution, while members of the Cleveland Conference, were not present and replied in writing.

Written replies were also received from Professor Charles A. Beard, the well-known historian, and Professor L. C. Marshall of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, both of whom are on the Social Science Commission of the American Historical Association, trying to draft the social aims of history teaching. Professor Boyd H. Bode of Ohio State University also wrote out his opinions, and Professor Goodwin B. Watson of Columbia University, whose specialty is psychology and character education, penned his replies from a bumpy third-class carriage in Germany.

Then there were personal interviews with Professor Counts, who before his service in the International Institute of Teachers College, was at Yale University and at the University of Chicago, and whose outlook is influenced by wide foreign travel and experience; Professor Charles H. Judd, Director of the School of Education of the University of Chicago, whose forceful personality, keen intellect and forensic ability make him an outstanding figure in educational conventions and an acknowledged leader in educational thought; and President Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago, whose reorganization of that great institution has been probably the greatest experiment

in university education ever carried out in western Europe or America.

To give the reactions of all these persons individually would perhaps tax the patience of the reader. Therefore I shall combine their reactions, question by question, showing the various points of view on each.

The Cleveland Conference discussed for some little time how far the schools actually could influence social change. Jesse Newlon of the Lincoln School started this topic by saying: "Henry Ford has brought about a lot of changes in the social structure of American life. But have the schools?"

Superintendent Studebaker of Des Moines replied: "We have a higher degree of literacy than existed two generations ago."

"And," said Judd, "we have developed from the superstitious to the scientific point of view in two generations. The scientific attitude which we set out to form has undermined the superstitious dogmas of religion."

"Yes," added Dean Haggerty of the University of Minnesota, "and the schools have given enrichment of artistic life to the people. They have been one of the strongest forces in the development of music appreciation. This movement may have been started, as was prohibition, outside the school system, but it was more completely appropriated by the schools than prohibition ever was. The same thing is happening in art. It is the crucial political and moral things that cause the trouble. The school can take the lead in artistic and intellectual ones."

"In things that are not dangerous," said Newlon, "but how about the more fundamental matters?"

"Not more fundamental, just different," expostulated Haggerty.

"More fundamental," Newlon insisted. "The farmers to-day are getting nothing for their crops and a whole chain of difficulties follows."

Then Dr. Suzzalo interposed: "The school is not directly attempting to reform society. If the public thought it was doing so, it would resent the use of the school for the promotion of propaganda. If we can get the truth to the children and let it take its course, we have done our part. Reform the individual and let society take care of itself. There exists in America a deep resentment against propaganda. Let us give character, tolerance, ability to think, curiosity about current problems, and the technique of human personality, and then take our chances with the future. The reform of civilization is an indirect consequence of improved individuality and personality. Nothing would be more resented in America than to use the schools to bring about a preconceived social scheme."

"I don't believe society can be remade through children," said Newlon. "That must be done by adults. It is one of the great values of adult education. But as a profession, we teachers must be more active citizens. We must participate as adults in bringing about the social changes in which we believe."

Then Professor Strayer of Teachers College remarked: "In nine hundred and ninety-nine schools out of a thousand the existing social order is being perpetuated. I personally believe we should let the schools function in a democracy



where there is room to develop, where there is the give and take of social and individual emphasis. Let us have schools that would operate in the present social order, but would develop children to improve and modify it. It is folly to suppose that people would be willing to work vaguely toward no order or toward an order opposed to the present one. That would require revolution."

"The Russians say that we have just as definite a program as they," said Newlon, "but that we are perpetuating the capitalist order of society and political democracy."

"We aren't conscious of preparing our children for the capitalistic order. We may be doing it, but if so, it is unconscious because it is ingrained," said Dr. Buckingham. "Not having a definite consciousness of where we are trying to go, many of the things we do may not work toward the end we desire."

"We are constantly modifying our capitalism," Strayer objected, "and taking over more and more things collectively. We are also cultivating the ideal of tolerance."

"After the American Revolution there was an attempt to teach the principles of American democracy, as definite and coercive as that used in Russia to-day," said Haggerty.

"Yes," agreed Suzzalo, "we had two generations of propaganda education. First it was political and then moralistic, as in the McGuffey Readers. But since 1890 we have swung to education for the individual. If there is any unique characteristic in American education to-day, it is letting the individual get out of education and society what he can. Let us think in terms of processes, not in terms of a fixed kind of state. We want a tolerant man and free discussion, rather than any substantive end."

"The forms of thought have not changed in historic times," Dr. Buckingham suggested. "Thinking in the past was as keen as it is to-day. The best way to prepare for a changing world is to train children in those forms of thought that are permanent."

This was somewhat the point of view of Professor Ernest Horn of the University of Iowa in his replies to my questions. "There has been a great overemphasis of the factor of change in society to the neglect of the factor of persistence," he wrote. "That important changes are taking place cannot be denied, but this fact should not blind us to the non-changing or persistent values and processes. Indeed, even the success of any revolutionary change depends very largely upon the degree to which persistent values and processes are utilized. This position may be put in another way. We need to make the school responsive to the needs, trends, and values in present day life. Proper responsiveness is not likely to be obtained when either social change or social permanence is overemphasized. To omit either of these factors is to prejudice the analysis of the situation."

Process was again emphasized by Professor Marshall of Johns Hopkins: "I should like to see the individual child given a realization of the basic processes of every society, along with an understanding of how these processes are actually carried out by our own institutions. Of course the more the child gets by way of comparison with other institutions, the better. Just as there are a few fundamental geological processes which are manifested in millions of activities, so also there are a few fundamental social processes manifested in countless activities and institutions. Our

educational scheme up to the present time has emphasized the details, to the neglect of the fundamentals."

Dr. Judd, too, emphasized the persistent factors of society. He said: "Get reverence for organized society. Do not discard it, but work for continuous adaptation and evolution. I don't know of any institution or nation that can consider that it has arrived. But the forms we have, have been reached through struggle and survival. Let us keep the good things and discard the outworn. I am not thinking of these things as national, but rather as racial. Our alphabet and the Arabic number system are such great inventions that they are not local in connotation or significance."

There was more individualism in the answers of some of the others with whom I consulted. Professor Bode said, for example: "The emphasis should fall on enabling pupils to develop an intelligent social attitude of their own. Personally I think that society should develop in the general direction of democracy, à la Dewey, but this must not be either a prescribed or definitely preconceived form."

Superintendent Threlkeld put it this way: "I approve a social process in which there is a free play of interaction between the individual and his various environments, looking toward an evolution of both society and the individual, but without any more of a preconceived plan than experience up to date can suggest, and even such a plan should be subject to continuous revision."

This is a subject to which Professor Kilpatrick has given a good deal of thought. His reply was: "There are certain respects in which decisions seem already to have been made for us, for example, that we in the United States shall use the English language and (for me) that if we depart, we

shall at least depart constitutionally from our present government. In this and other like respects I am looking to education to perpetuate but also go on perfecting what we have.

"In certain other respects I have convinced myself of thoroughly definite changes or directions of change, in which I think our civilization should move. These I am not willing to indoctrinate into our children (as do the Russians and Japanese), but I wish them at least clearly examined. And underlying all my conscious convictions are certain presuppositions which I seem compelled to make; for example, that we must trust our fortunes to criticized thinking, and that most of us should share in the endeavor. If I act on this basis and so teach, I am—as far as I can see—indoctrinating *against* all those positions (called by me obscurantist) which assume that human thinking is unreliable and must get its final authority in some other way.

"With the limitations expressed then in the two foregoing paragraphs I favor, on the whole, such an educational program as helps best in developing intelligently self-directing personalities with the intent that they and not I shall decide the kind of society they are to create."

President Hutchins of the University of Chicago and Professor Beard were similarly individualistic in their aims. Hutchins said: "I have no preconceived system and I have no confidence in the present system. Therefore I am forced to take the view that all we can hope for is the best development of the individual, trusting that a more rational and beneficial society will emerge." With this Beard agreed, with the proviso that there be reference to current social trends, adding: "To me society is a stream of tendency with



direction, not a form fixed and good forever. No society in the world is undergoing a more rapid transformation than that of Japan—even the very system of government, in spite of all the talk about the persistency of the sacred order.”

In Professor George S. Counts of the International Institute and Professors Harold Rugg and Goodwin B. Watson of Teachers College the trend of opinion was toward helping to reconstitute society through the schools. Rugg said: “I propose that the schools of each nation in the world should be regarded as agencies for social regeneration. I see the program of the schools as responsible for the introduction of youth to a tolerant understanding of the modern world and how it came to be and to active participation in it; also as responsible for the constant practicing of youth in the creative reconstruction of society.

“In the working out of this aim I am confident that much in the existing form of society will be perpetuated. Much also will be eliminated. I am confident also that each individual child will be developed as fully as possible in every direction. A generation of youth so developed will indeed determine the kind of society that it wishes to create. Therefore, while aiming at maximum all round growth for each individual child, I should organize the program of the schools in the deliberate attempt to develop a sanely critical attitude toward the existing social order.”

Goodwin Watson wants “to bring into existence a new form of society, but without the ruthless sacrifice of individual joy for social goals as one finds it in U. S. S. R. I want the new society only because, and in so far as, it is a *means* to enriched living for individuals. The individual life at its

best is central in my thought, the social changes are demanded to make such a life possible."

Counts went even further: "I am not interested in perfecting the present social order. I have no scheme of a new order that is perfectly definite. Nor am I interested in the mere development of the individual, because that is meaningless to me. I feel that we should work toward a new order and that the schools should be a factor in working toward it. But the school is not as powerful as many think. The school moves as the community moves. Still we in education will have to develop some notion as to what the good life is and what a good society is, and make the schools an instrument for bringing this about. I think that we must assume an industrial society. Industrial forces are sweeping over society and transforming it. Even though we should believe that pre-industrial society was happier than the present form, we can't go back. I believe further that industrial society will be collectivistic. In the fascist experiment in Italy and in communism in Russia haven't we the two forms between which we must choose, not exactly as they stand, but in general plan? Personally I prefer moving toward some form of communism, with some freedom at the bottom, to moving toward fascism, with the power and land in the hands of a few. But within the limits of communist society there may be many possibilities."

Every American consulted agreed that in the last analysis the individual must follow the dictates of his own conscience, rather than the demands of the state if the two conflicted. There were, however, some interesting qualifications. Judd, Marshall, Threlkeld, and Horn all thought

that each particular case would have to be decided on its own merits, and wanted to avoid sweeping generalizations.

Threlkeld said: "I believe in respect for personality. Yet individual life does not exist and cannot exist except in group life. Therefore I think the individual is obligated to play the game with the group in many instances in which he as an individual is not fully agreed with the group action. He should try to influence the group in every reasonable way to accept his point of view if he has any convictions, but failing in that he should be willing I think to go with the group to some extent. To fail to do this indicates a failure to recognize the extent to which group life and individual life are one, and it is also subject to being interpreted as mere egotism. However, there are, no doubt, situations in which the individual should take a very determined stand against the entire group."

Horn said: "The problem is complicated because on the one hand we have worked long to protect the individual's right to act according to well-considered convictions, while on the other hand we have insisted that the individual recognize the possible limitations of his convictions when they are at variance with the values and mores which are accepted in the established order."

Kilpatrick qualified his answer as follows: "I hope to build such intelligent, conscientious, self-directing personalities that they will follow their best insight as against anything else, being at the same time, however, duly impressed with their own fallibility and with the essential need of coöperating to the common good. I should expect my citizens often to say to themselves that the larger good apparently demands that I (following thus my best insight)

subordinate my present private opinion to the corporate judgment of my fellows."

And Rugg said: "I would try to develop in each youth the habit of using his own deepest convictions as to what is right in every personal and social situation which he confronts. From time to time therefore, because of the static nature of our social institutions, the decisions of the individual would run counter to the dictates of the state. I should regard as a fundamental object of allegiance the obligation to contribute to the carrying on of the political and social life of the community and nation. But I should see that youth gets equal practice in loyalty to the conviction that he should change the cultural and legislative structure whenever changing modes of living and progress demand it. But the first and foremost object of allegiance is the integrity of one's own self."

Our American leaders seem likewise to be fairly well agreed on nationalism versus internationalism. Judd, Marshall, and Horn again hesitated about generalizing and felt that each particular case or problem would have to be decided on its own merits. Judd was almost on the other side of the fence when he said: "Sometimes showing your teeth and acting selfishly is best for the general world welfare. If we are to act altruistically, we must be sure our action will be met in the same spirit. It is not always wise to make yourself kindling. What we should advocate is the kind of wise altruism which says that a certain act is in the long run the best thing for the world. Teach children to understand the conditions under which they are determining their action and then to act in such a way as to achieve the ultimate good."



Kilpatrick, for once, took a position similar to Judd's, saying: "I cannot say in advance in general that the national should be subordinated to the world-wide, though in a sense I should expect it. What I should demand is that when each particular case presents itself no prior commitment, either to the national or to the world-wide, shall prevent a fair and impartial appraisal of where duty lies."

Threlkeld analyzed the matter as follows: "I believe the individual's first responsibility toward world welfare rests in so influencing his own country that its policies will be acceptable to him with reference to what he has in mind. Any other attitude, it seems to me, would make him a man without a country, and I doubt if a philosophy leading to that end is constructive. There is no conflict between nationalism and worldism in the final analysis. It is quite conceivable that the greatest nation of the future will be that nation which renders the greatest service to all humanity through world-wide coöperative effort. Larger groupings as I see it always come about through the synthesis of smaller groupings."

Bode said: "Loyalty requires definition. If it means devotion to the best interests of the country, then I should hold that it is not loyalty to support national ambitions for purposes which are in conflict with world welfare."

Harold Rugg considers loyalty to the world community the deepest social loyalty. "In case of an apparent conflict between the two interests I would expect that youth would strive to its uttermost to reconcile the conflicting interests and achieve a peaceable solution in coöperation with the other people of the world. In case, however, youth was convinced that its national leaders were wrong, it should

be willing to suffer in defense of its supreme loyalty to the world community."

Strayer said: "H. G. Wells says there is no use talking about peace while we are still thinking nationally. "It may have been reasonable to think nationally as Americans two generations ago, but it is so no longer."

"The world good comes first," said President Hutchins. "It will always be extremely difficult in concrete cases to determine how this will be achieved, but I don't believe the isolated good of an individual nation will necessarily contribute to that particular end."

And likewise George Counts: "World well-being must come first, although sometimes there is necessarily a conflict between world well-being and national well-being. Occasions might arise where the actions decided upon by the state would definitely conflict with the interests of mankind. This would conflict with the interests of one's own state in the long run, for ultimately there can never be a genuine conflict between the interests of one's own society and the interests of mankind at large. Mankind at large depends for its well-being on the well-being of the various cultures which compose it."

Watson went so far as to say: "The national unit appears to me no more worthy of reverence than the county. 'My *county* first' would sound to us like pork-barrel petty politics now. I should be glad to help children feel the same way about nationalism."

Tendencious history was not really advocated by anyone. The difficulty of making the teaching of history strictly objective was frequently recognized, however, and a

certain type of indoctrination was occasionally justified. George Counts, for example, said:

"I don't think that scientific history is possible, nor do I think it altogether desirable from the standpoint of history. But I would not want to teach a history that suppressed or distorted facts. History does not only include the elements of a scientific nature, but it is also a philosophy and an art. It is going to be rewritten every generation, just as philosophy is going to be restated. This raises the question as to what is truth and scientists don't give the entire answer. There is a certain organic element in history that has to be taken into account. I have no objection to an American history that emphasizes certain values in American life. There is always a certain mythological aspect to history and it affects the future as well as the past. Someone has said: 'A human history without a Utopia is not much of a history.'

"I would try to show with equal emphasis the German and American side of the World War, for example, knowing that I would probably never fully understand the German point of view. I would also teach the faults as well as the virtues of heroes.

"As to indoctrination with the state views, that depends on what you mean by the state. Indoctrination in the values of the culture of which one is a part is inevitable and desirable."

"I believe that history should be taught objectively," Threlkeld said. "Yet there is no conflict as I see it between this approach to the teaching of history and the development of attitudes and ideals. There is a conflict between it and partisanship in the development of attitudes and ideals,

but I believe that the outcome should include such attitudes and ideals as the truth itself will develop. I here mean the whole truth."

Beard summed up his attitude tersely, but a bit cryptically: "Teach history as a science with respect to facts—but as ethics with respect to conduct." Then he added: "I am more interested in getting children in the habit of demanding facts about situations and hearing all sides than I am in forcing any creed on them. Intelligent men and women well-informed can handle new situations as they arise."

Kilpatrick said: "I believe that there should be no prior commitment of opinion such as to prevent the impartial use of history to get from it its lessons for us. The facts of history are, however, literally infinite. It is impossible to teach all. There must be selection and emphasis. But all selections and emphases should be made with the intent of developing such intelligent self-direction as will be able and disposed to criticize what we now hold dearest, and if possible, improve upon it."

Harold Rugg, while recognizing the difficulties inherent in attempting to be strictly objective and impartial, holds that: "History can be used in the schools to train a generation of youth in the progressive improvement of society only when it is taught as objectively and scientifically as possible. The fundamental intellectual purpose of the school is practice in the tolerant consideration of the group problems of the community, the nation, and the world."

"History," says Bode, "should develop attitudes and ideals. The material must be selected accordingly, but facts must not be suppressed in the sense that data which do not



square with predetermined conclusions are kept out of sight."

According to President Hutchins: "The scientific and objective method of presenting facts should be our aim, realizing that any philosophy is the expression of the philosopher. So history is bound to be local insofar as it is taught by an individual to individuals. But if we depart from the principle of objectivity, we get into such compromises that there is hardly anything left."

Marshall and Judd suggested an interesting way out of the difficulty. It is, the reader may remember, in harmony with the solution that was suggested by an English labor leader, and two or three others. "I have a grudge against history as it is taught," said Judd. "The whole business is perverted. It is a record of controversy. I would rather teach non-controversial history, like the history of our number system and the alphabet. We give a very superficial history in attempting to discuss controversies, wars, etc. We should instead study the conditions and causes which are the true turning points of thinking. There is one fundamental civilization spreading over Europe, America, and the whole civilized world. Let our children think of these broad human movements. To-day they think of history in terms of nations, the Rhine, revolutions. They don't realize that national boundaries are insignificant."

Goodwin Watson's views harmonized somewhat with Judd's. "I am very doubtful about history, as such. I suspect it is a vicious subject. Historical approaches to certain problems, for example: Why do we rest every *seventh* day instead of third, or fifth or tenth? are fascinating and perhaps, if properly developed could produce a kind of inde-

pendence of institutionalized culture. Certainly the attempt would be to get the full truth, not to produce certain 'ideals.' But it would be a truth for a purpose, to serve a need, to answer a specific problem, etc. In my present notion, history would be used not to develop generalizations but to add meaning to the buildings, words, feasts and customs in which the child finds himself imbedded."

And Marshall said: "If history were taught in terms of making clear to pupils how the *basic processes fundamental to all social organization* were carried on in different forms of society, it would be possible to teach it objectively without raising the kinds of ghosts which lurk in your question. At least it is not necessary to raise as many of them as are to-day raised."

There was practical unanimity among all the Americans as to the desirability of teaching the faults and weaknesses of the nation and its heroes as well as their virtues and strong points. The most conservative attitude in this regard was that of Horn, who said: "Where the weaknesses of nations or of heroes are significantly related to the historical problems which are being studied, these weaknesses should be pointed out. It is quite possible to do this without detracting overmuch from the appreciation of the strong points either of nations or of persons. Ordinary human or national frailties should probably be passed over rather lightly and the predominant emphasis placed upon those virtues which are basic to progress. This emphasizes the constructive rather than the destructive point of view."

Most of the others swung more toward the point of view expressed by Rugg: "Youth must be given an honest description of society. This will inevitably include the faults and

weaknesses of their own country and its 'heroes,' as well as their virtues. The very foundation of sane and informed reconstruction of community and national life is adequate knowledge. This means an understanding of the defects as well as the merits of one's own civilization. Respect for the latter and hope for its progressive development will be engendered by this frank study of the characteristics of one's own nation."

The Cleveland Conference discussed objectivity in history teaching and freedom of discussion of contemporary problems practically as one question. Newlon said: "Many features of our government as now organized are clumsy and not very responsive to public opinion. Is it the function of the schools to indoctrinate youth with the idea that there are defects, or should we go on slurring over that and leave the impression that we have about the most perfect government in the world?"

To this Suzzalo replied: "One enters into detailed criticism with safety only as individuals mature. Young children without an adequate basis get into an emotional pessimism. Start with the good things. Then as the children get older and competent to think consecutively, give them more truth. Until then do not try to fling the whole truth at them. A mature person must look over the shoulder of the child and show him what he is to see."

"Since most children don't get farther than high school, would you take up such problems there?" Newlon queried.

Suzzalo hedged: "That is a matter of wise strategic selection."

"If you don't begin below the junior college, haven't

you vaccinated children against any new ideas?" Newlon persisted.

Then Suzzalo yielded a little: "They will get much from other and non-controversial fields; but devoted, sympathetic, constructive criticism is more valuable than any other kind. It ought to be included in the schools as far down in the grades as it can be achieved."

"If we did that," Newlon agreed, "education would be going with social change and perhaps a little ahead."

"Does Newlon wish to imply that teachers should and do not point out the weaknesses of our country?" asked Studebaker. "Is there to be an agreement as to what are the weaknesses?"

"I would not sanction an attempt to get an agreement in advance," replied Newlon, "but since there is feeling among the best political scientists, for example, that there is cumbersomeness in our Federal structure, I think we shall not get very far until a discussion of the difficulties goes on in our secondary schools."

Studebaker countered: "As long as we own and govern the schools are we going to let the teachers teach what they want, or shall we make them teach what we want them to teach? If the latter, the schools must necessarily lag behind social change."

Then said Suzzalo soothingly: "If we get children to reading and browsing in the libraries, we will avoid much of the difficulty. People have come to expect libraries to contain books on both sides of all controversial issues. They will not criticize the schools for allowing the children access to these books.

"On the other hand, we must remember that we are a



government of public opinion and the school is an arm of the government. As public opinion becomes more tolerant, the school will. No teacher can support a social philosophy out of keeping with public opinion. This is an inevitable limitation.

"On the whole, I would foster freedom of discussion among adults and would go down into the grades as far as I could. Anything that can be tested objectively should be discussed by young children in the elementary schools. They will study *things* and become acquainted with facts. More difficult questions will be discussed later. When you come to the point where the instructor weighs the argument and tries to interpret it, you are on more dangerous ground. Such discussions should therefore come still higher in the schools. If a thing is subject to heated political controversy and therefore needs very tactful handling, it should not be admitted until the upper levels. The minute you excite public opinion by going against it, you cause various groups to try to seize the schools."

President Waldo of the Kalamazoo State Teachers College then came into the discussion: "Doesn't the answer as to the suitability of discussion depend on the teachers? Some teachers can handle almost any subject without harm. Others can get their superintendent into a lot of trouble."

"Yes," agreed Haggerty, "the question is, are the teachers qualified? Doesn't it call for maturity to give the devoted, sympathetic treatment which we all agree criticism of our government should have?"

Newlon replied: "Our teachers are better qualified than they once were, although only a few have all that we wish.

But I have no sympathy with the idea that new things must await a new generation of teachers. Teachers learn by doing. As they handle controversial questions, they become prepared, especially if the leadership in the schools is of the kind to stimulate the thinking of the teachers.

"We need a better type of teacher, administrator, and college teacher of education, but we must come to grips with these problems. We are too timid as a profession. We should take more part in civic life. We should come into closer touch with reality. We have taught how laws were made in terms of external form, not in terms of the part played by the political boss and by economic pressure. We must be more realistic in our treatment of contemporary American life. And it is safe to do it. It is being done in a number of good schools."

"Yes," Waldo agreed, "the high schools all over the country are debating controversial questions and I see no harm from it. I should like to have boys and girls taught about the United States government in high school, including all of its faults and weaknesses, especially where there is a well-trained teacher. I would include the discussion of economic pressure on politics and all such contemporary issues."

"The difficulty is that the public thinks teaching is the giving of definite information, rather than the establishment of critical attitudes of mind, so that the student will go on studying," contributed Threlkeld. "When people ask me if we teach such things as criticisms of our government or our heroes, or such issues as communism, my reply is, 'No, we don't teach them, we study them.'"

"Do you want the teacher to raise issues or to settle them?" Buckingham asked.

"To study them," replied Newlon.

"To be specific, how would you handle the question of the tariff?" asked President Frasier of the Colorado State Teachers College. "Would you present both sides and allow the children to draw their own conclusions?"

"Certainly we should not decide questions for the children," replied Suzzalo, "but we may influence them toward the idea of how the problem should be solved. Let us not give them the solution, but the process of solution."

"Do I understand then, Suzzalo," asked Horn, "that you would indoctrinate the children as to the process to use, but not as to the solution?"

Suzzalo agreed.

Horn went on: "It is perfectly obvious that none of us can always think through the consequences of all actions. We have to be indoctrinated with certain mores. It is obvious that a good deal of indoctrination is necessary, especially for a young child. Open-mindedness itself is a kind of indoctrination."

"Then we should have a different word for it," Suzzalo objected. "One kind of indoctrination leaves the child with a closed, fixed mind; the other with an open, active mind."

The whole conference seemed to be in agreement here. I think it is safe to say that the most enlightened general opinion in America favors the kind of education that will train children in the *process* of thinking their various problems through in a scientific way, rather than the inculcation of any particular dogmas as to the type of organization which society should have.

The Cleveland Conference barely touched on the question of the right of the teacher to attempt to influence the children toward his or her own personal view on controversial questions, or the right of the state to demand that the teacher influence children toward its point of view. As a matter of fact, in its conclusion that it is the way of attacking a problem rather than leading the children toward a specific conclusion, the Conference successfully avoided the other issue. However, in the personal interviews with individual educators this question was taken up specifically. Judd characteristically took a relatively conservative stand in the matter:

“Children should discuss freely so far as they have wise teachers. A wise teacher can handle the situation and make it productive. Most young women teaching in the United States, however, are incompetent to guide anybody’s thinking. They are highly partisan, utterly uninformed, and talk in symbols they don’t understand. Concretely, therefore, we had better keep discussion of controversial issues out of the schools. Ideally it is better to go on in the right way.

“Where discussion is introduced under a wise teacher, he has a right to try to influence social opinion. This depends, however, on the maturity of the child. No wise teacher will dominate an immature person to his disadvantage, but in dealing with mature persons the teacher will do his level best to influence them. A teacher ought not to dominate, but should contribute vigorously to the development of his own views. To dominate the individual is to suppress him, to use force of some kind; but to influence him is legitimate.

“No teacher has the right to accept a contract that im-



plies domination by the state doctrine and then to break the contract. If a teacher is opposed to the present situation, he must try to influence public opinion to change the law. The state has a right to legislate on the curriculum. The teacher has the recourse of trying to influence the legislature. I am in favor of academic freedom, but the man who expresses himself against social dictates may have to take the consequences."

Bode said: "No teacher worth his salt can help influencing his pupils, but he shouldn't 'try' to do so. His business is to enable pupils to do their own thinking. If he assumes responsibility for this, he will make it a point to bring in data which conflicts with his own beliefs."

Harold Rugg states an attitude characteristic not only of his own philosophy, but of that of a good many of the others whom I consulted.

"Unrestricted freedom of discussion," he says, "must be allowed in the school. The very basis of the world's march toward democracy is the progressive advance in the agencies which make possible freedom of thought, freedom of assemblage, freedom of speech.

"The program of the schools must be constructed around the *problems* of individual and group life. This criterion implies the introduction of controversial issues in the schools. On no other basis can tolerant, critical understanding of contemporary life be developed.

"In allowing freedom of discussion in the schools, the teacher should try to maintain an impartial, objective, problem-solving attitude. The teacher, however, is a human being, subject to the prejudices and predispositions of the human organism. If the teacher is worth his salt, he will

have attitudes and convictions. Hence the maintenance of an objective attitude will be one fraught with the gravest difficulty. We therefore see the imperative necessity of giving prospective teachers, and teachers in service, practice in the objective presentation of the problems and issues of contemporary life."

"Freedom for discussion should not only be allowed but developed," said Watson. "It, like every other form of freedom, is built up, created, achieved—not handed out by 'permission.' The teacher should try to influence the children toward a point of view which he believes fair, inclusive, and potentially of most creative value for personal and social life. These conditions mean that the point of view may not be one set up in advance, or the rallying point of a sect. The teacher and pupils together must come out with a view larger than that of any component group which may have been brought into the discussion."

Let me quote one other American—George Counts: "The wisest state will permit the individual teacher to represent his own point of view honestly in dealing with children, because after all we know there won't be many teachers off on the extreme left or right, and representation of these unorthodox views by a small number of persons will give the social order an elasticity necessary to respond to a changing condition. A weakness in our society to-day is due to too many teachers teaching the official point of view. Hence very few citizens have other than conventional ideas stamped upon them by the state through the schools. If society is going to face crises, as I think ours undoubtedly will, this constitutes a real danger."

Let us now take up the two final questions. One of these, it will be remembered, deals with the fundamental basis for constructing the curriculum. Since Kilpatrick is the chief exponent of the child-centered curriculum, let him speak first:

“A wise selection from the child’s interests to-day forms the starting point for to-day’s experience and activity. The selection will be wise in the degree that it is educatively made. The children will have a reasonable part in making the choice, partly that they may profit by this part of the experience. The reason we have the educational enterprise is that growth may better take place. The pupils (students, learners of whatever age) should then so deal with whatever experience or undertaking is at hand that they grow best during and through the management of the experience. The teacher (professor, leader) is present to help this growing, but all the growth that comes to the learners comes through what the learners themselves do. In and for such helping the teacher should have at his disposal (in his own thinking and in suitable reference material, etc.) the best available pertinent wisdom of the race. This will include studies of adult life and of child life; studies of past, present, and possible societies; the researches of scientists and the most matured thinking of philosophers and critics, constructive and destructive. The experience or enterprise should then be so managed by the learners, under appropriate guidance from the teacher, that it goes on best, all things reasonably considered. When this is done the learners will have broadened their views, will have seen new and more significant connections, will (in general) have de-

veloped better techniques for dealing with such. These results we call growth or education.

"If this process be continually repeated, the day by day interests and activities of the learners will take on ever wider and deeper and more significant character. Cumulation takes place in the light of the best that is known. Correlative appropriation ensues."

Superintendent Threlkeld of Denver expressed a view fundamentally in harmony with Kilpatrick's. He said: "In my opinion no one has yet made an adequate statement of the relationship that should be recognized in education between the child's day by day interests, activities, and felt needs on the one hand, and the social situation on the other. We tend to divide into two camps, those that would approach the individual by first making a survey of the so-called demands of adult society, having in mind fitting the individual to these demands, and those who would approach the matter entirely from what seems to be an individualistic basis, as if life were a mere hodge podge or conglomeration of individuals. I personally believe that the only way through which a child learns anything is through his interests, felt needs, and activities resulting therefrom, and I believe the teaching process should have a directive influence to the extent of bringing to bear upon the individual, stimuli from the whole of life, so far as this is possible, thereby tending to cause his interests, felt needs, and activities to grow in terms of complete living, which as above emphasized includes societal living and all implied thereby. I am very definitely opposed to any survey of society as an approach to education if it assumes a fixed order of things and aims at the



mere maintenance of the status quo and the subordination of the personality thereto."

Just as Kilpatrick represents the child-centered point of view, so Judd may be considered as one of the chief exponents of a more society-centered emphasis in curriculum building. He said: "The individual is a very insignificant part of the world. He is a factor in the development of the world, but a passing link in a long chain. He should try to be as faithful a part of the chain as he can, or be prepared to take the consequences. The individual is of very minor importance. Evolution has not made us long lived. When a human being reaches the stage of being static, evolution kills him off."

Beard, too, believes in planning the curriculum in terms of a scientific study of the demands of adult society. Horn leans toward this viewpoint, but represents also to some extent the synthesis of the two extremes. He says: "While the important and persistent problems of the child's present life cannot and need not be ignored, the best curricula in social studies are found where these curricula have been made and organized on the basis of scientific and critical study of society. As this question is stated I should omit the word 'adult' in front of society. [He is referring to the following statement of the question: 'In planning the curriculum should a scientific study of the demands of adult society be made the basis for the general outline of the program and goal toward which instruction should tend, or should the child's day by day interests and activities and felt needs be the basis?'] The child is already living in society. Most of his problems are in common with those of adults, at least in principle. Moreover he is fairly con-

scious of the fact that he is in school for the purpose of *becoming* an efficient member of this society.

"The legend, 'the child versus the curriculum,' has always seemed to me to be largely made of straw. Every study of the needs of adults, on the one hand, and of children, on the other, indicates that the overlap between adult and childish needs is far greater than has been commonly assumed. There is not time to deal at any age level with the problems which are at once significant to children and also permanently significant to adults. This is as true of social problems and of art as of arithmetic and spelling."

Marshall holds to his philosophy of an education in terms of processes, saying: "If instruction were in terms of the basic processes of social organization, every child's group would be participating in the basic processes which are characteristic of the state and the nation (this within limits). Within limits the basic processes of a boy's gang or a child's play group find their counterpart in adult society."

Hutchins, Rugg, Watson, and Counts all are for a synthesis of the two ideas. "The danger of an attempt to train students for the society into which they are likely to go," says Hutchins, "is that when the child gets there this type of society no longer exists. Preparation for adult needs is liable to train reactionaries in maintaining the status quo. It is essential therefore to train children to meet new problems which result from new combinations of old material. On the other hand, the danger of a child-centered education is that it may be conducted in a vacuum. The student in the elementary school, for example, can be completely unaware of many of the general types of prob-

lems that he will have to face later on. The question resolves itself therefore into this: How can we through an analysis of the individual and an analysis of society prepare the individual to face a society that is distinguished for one thing—the constancy of change?”

Counts says: “The distinction between the child’s interests and the adult’s needs is largely artificial. Very young children are members of society as a whole, and the curriculum should be based on the needs of this whole society. The gradation of the activities will depend on the experience and interests of children. It is true that in our type of society there is a greater distinction between the child and the adult than in most societies, a greater distinction than there should be. In a society that is functioning rightly the child feels himself to be a part of it and is as much interested in the things that concern it as are older people. The rise of capitalism has tended to push children off into a kind of artificial life, so we tend to think of this separation as inevitable. I don’t believe it is. It is right here that we can learn a great deal from the Russians. I wonder how sound any education can be that is based on the assumption that children lead rather independent lives.”

“But,” I asked, “what will you do with topics like long division, for example, which are needed in adult life and which are not usually needed by children even if their life is rather closely in touch with contemporary affairs?”

“In such a case I would set the stage so that the children would see the need for the process, but I would postpone the process until fairly late in the child’s school course.”

A sane balance and attempt at synthesis between an education wholly child-centered and one almost wholly

centered on the preparation for adult society was suggested by Harold Rugg. He said: "In planning the curriculum of the schools, a scientific study of the demands of adult society should be made one important basis for the program and the goal toward which instruction should tend. But it is equally important to base the curriculum of the school upon the known personal and group needs of the children themselves at their own stages of development. Thus both scientific study of children's interests and alert and spontaneous reorganization of the curriculum from day to day on the basis of current interest and felt needs is the ideal. The school should be conceived not only as maximum living now; it should also be conceived definitely as preparation for life. The essence of education is maximum provision for the child living now, but the fullest life for the child at any moment can be guaranteed only through activities planned in the light of the probable fullest living to-morrow. The growth occasioned by living to-day reveals itself in the predicted living to-morrow. Unless the prediction is made in the light of known experimental evidence, life to-day in the school will lag behind its national possibilities."

Our final question had to do with the importance of a program of mental hygiene in the public school curriculum. For the most part the responses to this question were too unanimously favorable to be very interesting. Bode said he didn't know. Judd flushed and became irritated at the idea that there could be any antithesis between academic instruction in "purely intellectual" subjects and mental hygiene. He said: "Arithmetic is one of the finest pieces of mental hygiene. I never heard of purely



intellectual education. I never draw the line of distinction your phrases indicate. What you call pure intellect is part of what people have developed in the history of the race as something of fundamental value. The adjustment of the individual to his world—mental, economic, social, governmental, and spiritual (the physical world is pretty well taken care of)—is all a social adaptation. The intellect is given as an instrument of guidance. It is the *instrument par excellence* of adaptation."

But with these two exceptions, if they can be called exceptions, there was a general chorus of recognition of the importance of the problem and of the necessity of including a program of mental hygiene in the schools. Marshall said: "I doubt if many things are more important than the helping of the child with his emotional conflicts." Horn said: "A well-considered attack on the problem of mental hygiene is a justifiable function of public education. At the same time it must be recognized that ill-considered or incompetent attention to these problems is likely to do more harm than good. There are undoubtedly very serious inherent dangers in an overemphasis of such types of programs as mental hygiene. It is important, moreover, that all such work be conducted in the light of acceptable social norms of conduct."

Hutchins said: "I have a very low opinion of many of the things on which time, effort, and money are now being spent, but even assuming that they were being spent admirably, I consider mental hygiene so important that if necessary some of our time, effort, and money should be sacrificed to make possible the development of a real program of mental hygiene in all schools."

While warning that our knowledge is as yet very imperfect, and that a good deal of quackery exists in the field, Counts said: "If there is a conflict between mental hygiene and the academic instruction in the schools, I would favor giving attention to mental hygiene. The problem is one of a great deal of importance."

Beard and Kilpatrick and Threlkeld all joined the chorus, and Rugg said: "I consider child guidance as you define it in your question a legitimate and vital function of public education. So vital is it that public money should be appropriated for its widespread development even at the expense of cutting down the existing appropriations for 'academic instruction.' The teacher should really be conceived as a counselor, roughly understanding the traits, needs, and interests of each child. He should be a student of the psychology of child needs and child growth, as well as of the sociology of contemporary society. Hence child guidance is one of the crucial problems of education."

Goodwin Watson waxed emphatic on the question of the relative value of mental hygiene compared to ordinary academic work. "Of all the asinine concepts of education there is none more completely bereft of perspective and sense of value, than the idea that a pupil's knowledge of algebra, French grammar, or the use of a lathe is socially important, but that his courage, his communal spirit, his capacity to love, and his joy in living may be left to blind or feebly-guided circumstances."

American education, I believe, is beginning to face the problems raised in our inquiry, consciously and thoughtfully. In spite of the extreme decentralization of the Ameri-

can schools, there is a characteristically American outlook on educational philosophy, almost to the degree that there is an English outlook in England. The divergence among individual leaders is somewhat greater here, and there is definitely more tendency on the part of Americans to view the present situation critically and to seek to formulate principles by which education may help in the evolution and gradual reconstruction of American society. And while a clear vision and united program to this end does not yet exist even in the United States, the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association is trying to formulate such a program.

I am not sure whether a specific program is necessary or desirable under our conditions. Perhaps the sort of thinking that is being done, the feeling of their way by various leaders, the experimenting in somewhat different directions, is the safest way for us to adjust our conflicting interests and ideals, and for us to resolve the discrepancies characteristic of our young, vigorous, unfinished American civilization.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### RESULTANT

WHEN we started our quest we had asked ourselves whether the leaders of thought in different countries held in view the same or similar ends or whether they were moving along widely divergent paths. Our interviews left no room for doubt. The leaders of educational thought clearly are not agreed among themselves as to where they want to go. Within a given country there may be unity of purpose, but often the purpose of one nation is quite opposed to that of another. It is all very well for teachers and other educational workers to dream of producing social change through education; but until they can think their problem through together and unify their forces, education will continue to be like a trailer dragged bumping along behind a plunging car, in the front seat of which quarreling occupants are fighting for control of the wheel.

I had hoped to make a synthesis of the ideas expressed by the various persons whom I interviewed. But one cannot synthesize antithetical propositions. Instead, I shall have to let the various forces moving in different directions resolve themselves through my mind, and attempt to express the resultant. This will not, however, be a true resultant as would be the motion of an inert physical body played upon by a variety of forces; for my mind itself was



moving before these forces began to play upon it and I cannot avoid the influence of that motion. Each reader will, like me, contribute the motion and direction of his own thinking to the play of the forces of these various minds with which we have come in contact through the interviews. In the case of each of us the resultant will be somewhat different. And that is fortunate; otherwise our thinking might stop.

The problems raised are fundamental. We are spending vast sums of money on education—not vast when compared with wars, of course, nor even when compared with the amount spent in the United States for tobacco, candy, chewing gum, and movies, but large enough to make taxpayers look askance at their tax bills and cry, “Let’s cut out the fads and frills and get down to fundamentals!” What are the fads and frills and what are the fundamentals? We can decide this question only in terms of our aims. If education is merely to be training in reading, writing, and numbers, so that, as far as the schools are concerned, a foundation is laid for reasonably effective clerkship, much of to-day’s education is fads and frills. But if education is primarily to develop the character of our future citizens and fit them to participate in social reconstruction, the ability to divide fractions or to parse a sentence or to prove a geometric theorem may fall into the fad and frill category and some of the present “progressive” activities of the school assume the rank of fundamentals. We must know where we are going in order to know whether we are on the right road.

The questions as stated in the interviews have a tendency to set up dichotemies. They are usually in the form

of "either—or." One cannot always choose so simply. Often each alternative is desirable, with certain limitations and modifications imposed by the other. Many of the persons questioned saw this—and reacted accordingly. And certainly in this chapter on the resultant we shall not usually find a simple choice of alternatives.

The first question is basic: Do we want to educate our children to perpetuate and perfect the existing social order; or do we want them to work toward a new social order which we definitely preconceive; or are we primarily interested in developing each individual to his own fullest capacity, leaving the future social order to a generation of individuals so developed?

There come times of swift and cataclysmic change, when in order to prevent the disintegration of society, a definite social form must be decided upon and all society's energy directed toward its realization. Russia and Italy have found themselves in this situation. After a social order has been newly achieved through struggle there is a necessary period of stabilization when the onrush of change must be checked, when the gains made must be consolidated. Poland and Turkey feel themselves to be at this point; so did our forefathers after the American Revolution. Later, just as there was the need of checking the swift current of change through stabilization, there comes the need to stimulate growth in a stabilized society, lest it rot. Japan, England, and America are perhaps examples of this third phase.

Japan with her unbroken dynasty, her state Shinto, her long history of freedom from invasions, has a tendency toward self-righteous complacency. This has had jolts, it is

true; as when the shoguns won temporal power by defeating the supposedly invincible forces of the emperor; again, in the last century, when the imperial household regained temporal power and Japan came in contact with the western world; and once more now when communist thought is subtly at work undermining some of the very foundations of the empire. But the stability of Japanese tradition, set and built up over so long a period, still resists fundamental reconstruction effectively.

England is more flexible. The many vicissitudes of her history have kept her from a fixed rigidity. Instead, she has developed a toughness of fiber that resists change by bending to its forces. I sometimes wonder whether England may not be more effectively resistant to vital changes than any country in the world—more successfully conservative.

America has neither the solidity of Japan nor the seasoned flexibility of England. Our resistance to change is more a continuation of the attempt at stabilization which follows revolution. We had to consolidate our position after attaining independence, again after the Civil War, and then after the peaceful and invited invasion by hordes of immigrants. In attempting first to convince divergent factions of our own citizens, and then great masses of newcomers, that what we have built is good, we have sometimes convinced ourselves to the point of complacency. We assume that of course a republican form of government—and our particular republican form—is the best. Although we are distressed when we see it breaking down in our big cities and when we see its inefficiencies and corruption in our state and national governments, we do not question its

inherent rightness. Similarly we postulate all our economic thinking on such assumptions as the right of the individual to charge as much for his goods as he can get, to pay his workers as little as he is able to get them for, to make money through the work of others or through using values of stocks or land which he owns but does not improve—on the assumption, in short, that the capitalistic base of society is sound. Believing this, yet feeling a little insecure because of our newness and our heterogeneous population, we decry as dangerous radicals any who dare to suggest changes in the American doctrine.

What are we in the schools to do about it? Are the schools to be “100 per cent American,” indoctrinating the children with the sanctity of the American constitution and capitalism? Or are they to be “hotbeds of sedition and radicalism?”

Few thoughtful people would advocate either extreme. Children (and adults) should have respect for our existing institutions—a respect which is bred of thorough and sympathetic understanding. Our institutions are the outgrowth of centuries of striving. They are deep-rooted in the thought and achievement of Greece and Rome; in the religious yearnings of the Jews; in the renaissance culture of Italy; in Teuton and Anglo Saxon individualism and revolt against the imposed authority of church or state; in the French Revolution; in the hardness of pilgrim and pioneer; and in the metallic soil of industrialism.

But when we see their nature we realize that they are *growing* things. If we attempt to hold them as they are, they will burst their bonds. And the stronger and more rigid the forms in which we try to hold them, the more



violent the bursting. It is not those who favor growth and change who endanger our safety, but those who try to restrain the forces of growth by rigid restrictions.

In school we can help children to see this. We can let them understand the successive revolutions, both violent and peaceful, that have brought us to our present state. We can inculcate in them a flexibility of mind, a habit of thinking in terms of growth and change, rather than in terms of fixed forms.

And this, it seems to me, is the answer to the question of indoctrination. The only doctrine we can give which is really educative is one of scientific, coöperative, and dynamic *thinking*. We as teachers must do such thinking. We must face the problems before us freely and courageously, and we must *act* in terms of our own conclusions. But we must avoid imposing our conclusions on our children.

Imposed doctrine probably has a place during the stage of emergence from revolution—it may be, for the moment, essential to bring order out of chaos. It seems, too, to be inevitable in the immediate post-revolutionary phase, when stabilization is the most urgent need. But to prolong it is to substitute instruction for education, and to stultify growth.

We want a living, evolving social order. It must be composed of thinking, growing individuals who contribute to its development. Such individuals cannot be produced by indoctrination. They must spring from a soil rich in real problems. They must have had continuous experience in individual and coöperative thinking. They must have formed the habit of approaching life reasonably and fearlessly, with open eyes and open minds.

The full development of the individual thus becomes a primary aim of education, but not a sole aim. The individual must realize himself as a cell in the social organism, dependent for his existence upon society, contributing his existence to the life of society. He must realize that in the world's good is his own—he is hindered in his growth and life by every limitation of the society of which he is a part. And he must realize that in his own good is the world's—that the health and vitality of society are non-existent except through the health and vitality (mental and emotional, as well as physical) of the individuals of which it is composed.

This same realization of the interdependence of individual and society helps solve the problem raised in our second question: Do we want to educate our children to so great a degree of loyalty to their country that when they grow up, in case of conflict between the country's demands and their own deep conscientious convictions, they will obey the state?

The "state" in America—or any democracy—means, in such cases, the officials elected by a majority of those who voted at the last election; it is not an abstract entity. A democracy is founded upon the postulate that the majority rules. If every individual, or minority group, feels free to disregard laws with which it is in disagreement there will be an end to law and order and national security. This happens, for example, when the minority is large enough to constitute a majority in certain localities—as witness our prohibition laws. But in general, the right of the majority to legislate carries with it the duty of the individual to obey legislation.

This is all tritely obvious—in ordinary daily affairs. But there come times when loyalties conflict. Loyalty to one's religion or to one's class in society or to one's section of the country or to the commonwealth of nations, may appear in sharp conflict with loyalty to one's fatherland. Loyalty to religion drove our Puritan ancestors to disobey British laws and finally to forsake the homeland completely; loyalty to their religious convictions made the Quakers stubbornly disobedient to law in colonial days, and led to their "disloyal" disregard of the commands of the majority when Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Laws. Indeed, this sect has so successfully stood for the right of the individual to follow his conscience rather than the state's dictates that it was exempted from military service in the World War—the political majority admitted that the loyalty of this minority to its religious convictions superseded its loyalty to the state! Class loyalty was dominant in both the French and Russian Revolutions, but was still too weak the world over, when the Great War broke out, to unite the workers of the world. Sectional loyalty almost disrupted the United States during the Civil War. But loyalty to the commonwealth of nations is still too weak to clash dangerously with national loyalty.

What are we to teach our children?

Isn't it largely a matter of ordination? Minor loyalties must be subordinated to major ones—the less inclusive subordinated to the more inclusive. Loyalty to one's family, for instance, must not lead one into sacrifice of one's country. Party loyalty must be superseded by a more inclusive patriotism. Loyalty to humanity must transcend loyalty to segments of humanity.

This question of conflicting loyalties is fraught with many difficulties. Our emotions tend to lead us far more than our reason. It is usually much easier to be loyal to the more immediate, intimate group, be it family or gang, than to the less cohesive, more extensive nation or inter-nation, class or religion. Then some surge of mass psychology may sweep us from the smaller to the larger loyalty, or, on the contrary it may carry us from a diffuse loyalty to world or church or class, to an intensely national, local, or mob loyalty.

Bobbitt, in *The Curriculum*, has two excellent chapters on the nature of good citizenship and the development of the large-group consciousness. And it is here, I believe, that the solution lies, both to the question of individual conscience versus loyalty to the state, and to the question of nationalism versus internationalism. Bobbitt points out that intra-group virtues are the opposite of extra-group virtues, that while it is bad to kill a member of one's own group, it is noble heroism to kill a member of the group with which one is at war; while bad to steal from one's own group, it is good to steal from the enemy; while bad to deceive one's own group, it is clever diplomacy or good spying to deceive the outside one. He shows that this is not only true in international wars but in some degree wherever group arrays itself against group. And he suggests as the way out the development of a large-group consciousness, the identification of oneself with more and more inclusive groups.

If I think of myself not as separate from my community but as a member of it, conflict between my well-being and the community's is unreal—the community depends on



me for a part of its development and prosperity; I depend on the community for mine. Likewise the nation is interdependent with the communities of which it is composed. To think in terms of local well-being *versus* national is as stupid as to think of the well-being of my hand versus the well-being of my entire body. My hand serves my body; my body nourishes and supports my hand. One can conceive of sacrificing the hand for the body only in case the hand becomes hopelessly diseased—as with gangrene—and is infecting the whole body. One cannot under any conditions conceive of sacrificing the body to the hand.

Can we bring about through education such a *realization* of mankind's interdependence? If we can, many of the conflicts between loyalties will disappear. If, for example, our loyalty to our own country includes not only wholehearted devotion to its well-being, but realization that its well-being is indissolubly bound up with that of the world, can there be a conflict between our patriotism and our devotion to humanity? It is when we talk about "splendid isolation," and "my country, right or wrong," thereby acting as if we could prosper regardless of world conditions, that we are deceived into thinking that there is antagonism between nation and world.

The development of a vivid and emotionally charged world-consciousness is a major undertaking for education to-day. It probably must be built up in steps, beginning first with the identification of self with family, then with school group, then with local community, then with the nation. In each case there must be developed within the child the realization that the groups outside the one of which he is an immediate part are not antagonistic but

complementary, that they and one's own group combine to form part of a larger and more inclusive group with which again, in an increasing measure, the child must identify himself. When one reaches the identification of himself with his nation his patriotism must be warm and intense; but his identification with his nation must be sufficiently great to admit its faults as readily as we would have him admit his personal faults and great enough to sacrifice its temporary or seeming advantage for world well-being as he would sacrifice his personal advantage to the well-being of the nation. A sufficient degree of far-sightedness will make it evident to him that such seeming sacrifice must ultimately redound to his country's advantage, because we are all members of one another.

The social-minded, world-conscious individual may safely be allowed to follow his conscience in case of apparent conflict between it and the state's command. He will question his own opinion and decisions, he will recognize the possibility of his being wrong, he will weigh the consequence of his act in terms of the well-being of his country. If after having done so he is deeply convinced that the action his country asks him to take will be ultimately harmful to it, he cannot help refusing to act.

The safety of the state lies more in the check upon the majority or party in power by individuals and minorities which refuse to act in a way which seems to them fundamentally wrong, than in blind patriotism and obedience.

In the teaching of history such attitudes can be stressed without the undesirable sort of propaganda. I am inclined to agree with those who feel that a completely objective teaching of history is neither possible nor desirable. We are

bound to help children to interpret the past experiences of the race. What is important is enough confidence in the truth to avoid the suppression or warping of facts; enough humility on the part of textbook writer and teacher to recognize that interpretations directly opposed to his own may be just as valid; and enough respect for the child to attempt to give him fairly and evenly both sides of questions on which there is disagreement. If one questions one's own ability to present an opposing view with entire fairness—and most of us need so to question our ability—one should directly quote or refer the child to the best possible presentation of the opposing view.

History and the social sciences in general should be directed not so much toward justifying or attacking past acts as toward approaching current problems in an open minded, objective manner and in the light of past experience. Obviously one-sidedness on the part of textbook or teacher will defeat this purpose. History may legitimately contain propaganda if it is "propaganda" toward fair-mindedness, tolerance, broad understanding, and scientific approach. History taught in this way will inevitably center around those events which have been crucial in the life of the race rather than around political controversies and wars. It will be the story of the struggles of the human race, its tragic mistakes and its achievements. And it will focus the child's mind on the great unsolved problems which still confront us.

Such an approach to the social sciences will inevitably lead to discussion of current problems. Not only should such discussion be permitted, but the lack of it should be recognized as a failure on the part of the course and of the

teacher. Above all, we want children to learn to think, both individually and collectively. We want them to form the habit of attacking problems through careful analysis of all the factors involved and through an interchange of ideas with other persons making similar analyses.

The teacher's influence in the discussion is of vital importance; but again that influence must be toward the manner of approach to the problem, not toward a predetermined conclusion. The latter makes a mockery of discussion and defeats our whole purpose—making children think independently.

"The teacher would not be a teacher if he did not influence the children's conclusions!" said some of the people we interviewed. I should say, rather, that he is not a true teacher if his mind is more focused on his own theories than on developing the child's power of thinking.

Our next to the last question dealt with the basis of curriculum building. Shall the curriculum be child-centered, built on the interests and felt needs of children, or shall it be based upon a scientific study of what society is going to demand of the child and what the child will need when he becomes a member of adult society? Stated as an antithesis, this question is largely academic. The two points of view are complementary, not antagonistic.

If we consider the child as a whole we must think of him both as an individual and as a member of society, both in the present and in the future. If our education were less cloistered, less artificially segregated from the life of the world around it, child needs and interests would merge with societal demands.

Surely we must make a scientific study of what society



is going to demand of the child as he grows up, and of the knowledge, skill, and attitudes which he must possess to become a member of a growing and changing society. Surely we must study the developing human organism—the growth needs and emotional drives of the child. Both are necessary to an understanding and education of the whole child. This, I believe, is what Dewey means when he insists that education is not preparation for life but life itself.

Life is not without its drills—its temporary isolation of segments for specific practice. It is when we start with an isolated fragment and then fail to integrate it with entire situations that we get the artificiality of the traditional type of schooling.

Our final question dealt with mental hygiene. How far shall we consider the inner emotional adjustment of the child a function of the public school? Are we justified in spending the necessary time and money to seek the underlying causes back of undesirable behavior, unhappiness, unsatisfactory social contacts, school deficiencies? Is this one of the fads and frills or is it a fundamental?

Can the tools of learning—the three R's—be thought to be as fundamental as the character and emotions of the child who is going to use them? Never before in the history of the human race was literacy so widespread as it was at the time of the world's worst cataclysm—the Great War. Knowledge of the three R's has not prevented the incredible economic breakdown by which we are overwhelmed as I write. Surely if we are to survive we must give our children new ways of living and of thinking.

And those ways must include their own inner adjust-

ments, a resolving of their inner conflicts, and an integration of their personal desires to their social life. We have become perilously interdependent. The infection of a maladjusted individual could once be almost entirely localized, but now it may spread through the entire racial organism.

We do not know much about mental hygiene and its potentialities. It cannot yet claim the dignity of being a science. Stupid blunders have been committed in its name. But this is no excuse for the failure to use such meager knowledge as we have of the conscious and subconscious emotional causes that underlie overt behavior and to bend every effort to an increase of our knowledge and techniques in this subtle and basic phase of human life.

Our questions as a group tend to draw a sharp line between the individual and society. Of course no such line exists. The individual and society are mutually independent. Yet some thinkers have overemphasized one, some the other. Either extreme is dangerous.

Individualism, not balanced by collectivism, is a disruptive force. Collectivism which fails to allow for individual freedom of thought and action, destroys the living cells of which it is composed and which give it its growth and life. Education must be greatly concerned with the development of individuals as such and with the growth and development of society. Our educational thinking and planning must be deep-rooted with realization that equally in the world's good is one's own, and in one's own good is the world's.

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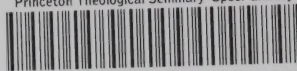






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